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HISTORY OF MOFFAT.



HISTORY OF MOFFAT:

WITH FREQUENT NOTICES OF

MOFFATDALE AND ANNANDALE.

BY

W. ROBERTSON TURNBULL.

EDINBURGH: W. P. NIMMO.

MOFFAT: ROBERT KNIGHT.

MDCCCLXXI.

WILLIAM GILCHRIST, PRINTER, GLASGOW.

ERRATA.

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PREFACE.

WE consider preliminary and explanatory observations regarding the origin and presumed utility of the present work unnecessary, therefore the few pages flourishing under the name of a "preface" may be regarded as a simple manifestation of gratitude to those parties who have in any way assisted me in collating material for the present work. Parties who particularly claim our thanks are, Mr. John Muir, Glasgow, who facilitated our researches by ready access to the valuable collection of works in the Faculty Library; Mr. Charles Stewart, Hillside, by Lockerbie, and Mr. Wilson, Moffat, the former of whom has long held the reputation of being an indisputable authority on historical subjects specially bearing on Dumfriesshire, and who himself has published an admirable little work, which has already received the share of public approbation which it merits. To Mr. James Johnstone, Edinburgh (whose advice was ever of the most kind and encouraging character), our thanks are especially due for the perusal of many prints and manuscripts relating to the Burgh's rights and boundaries. We also take this opportunity of thanking Messrs. Blackie & Sons, Publishers, who, with their customary kindness and courtesy, readily granted permission to insert in the

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Appendix the analysis of Moffat's sulphurous spring, effected in 1854 by the celebrated chemist, Dr. Macadam, and subsequently published under their auspices. Our thanks are due also to the Rev. Messrs. J. G. M'Vicar, D.D., LL.D., Robert Kinnear, and William Hutton, for supplying the statistics of their respective churches; and the former of whom has in many ways contributed much to the value of these pages. Having been led to believe that a sketch of Moffat at or about 1770 was still extant, we exerted ourselves to procure it, through the medium of the public prints, but our exertions, we regret to announce, proved unavailing.

We commend this crude sketch of Moffat, as it was and is, to the lenient consideration of parties interested in the subject, bidding it, in the words of Southey, 'farewell.'

"Go, little book, from forth my solitude,
I cast thee on the waters, go thy ways;
And if, as I believe, thy vein be good,
The world shall find thee after many days."

W. R. T.

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HISTORY OF MOFFAT.

CHAPTER I.

Introduction.—Sketch of the Parish—Its Rivers, Name, Population, and Extent.—The Town—Its present Population—Its Establishment by the Saxon—Its Trade—Supposed former Site of the Town.

SUMMER is hailed with enthusiasm by all; and with eagerness scarcely to be wondered at, the merchant snatches himself from his ponderous ledger, and the student from his books, to gain that ease and relaxation which their busy lives necessitate. While some flock to the Continent to behold with critical eye its beauties much extolled, or while some seek to enjoy the pleasures of the coast, others prefer the seclusive beauties of an inland town. Of all such Scottish inland retreats Moffat has gained pre-eminence—a pre-eminence which for upwards of two centuries has been fully acknowledged: and in the present Work we purpose showing the meagre position which at one time it occupied, and the many difficulties it encountered, and

the many struggles it endured, ere it reached the slightly important state in which we presently behold it; and through all of which it has retained till now that quietude with which it has ever been associated, and which has ever rendered it more attractive.

The parish, rich in resources for the archæologist, as we shall endeavour to show in the following pages, though situated chiefly in Dumfriesshire, extends into Lanarkshire (that part consisting, however, in the land pertaining to a few farms), and is in length fifteen miles, while it is set down as being at its greatest breadth between eight and a half and nine miles. The river Annan, which gives the name to the district through which it flows—Annandale, in the upper part of which the parish of Moffat is situated, rises in the extreme north, where the counties of Dumfries, Lanark, and Peebles touch each other. Forming the boundary between the parishes of Moffat and Kirkpatrick-juxta, it passes the town of Moffat, receiving below it several small streams (which increase considerably the volume of water), such as the Frenchland Burn, and a stream from Snawfell, the Moffat, and Evan waters at one point on opposite sides unite with the Annan. The place where these three streams or rivers join each other is appropriately termed the “Three Water Foots,” and we might with safety here apply the words of Moore—

“There is not in this wide world a valley so sweet,
As the vale in whose bosom the bright waters meet.”

In addition to those streams the “Silver Annan” takes

into its bosom others almost as important—the Wamphray, the Kinnel, and the Dryfe, the former of which may be said to be the most important tributary of the three, and which joins it soon after it leaves the “Three Water Foots,” coming from the north-easterly direction. The Kinnel joins it a little below Applegarth Kirk, coming from the north-east, while the Dryfe joins it farther on, coming from the north-west. Receiving these and other augmentations it meanders slowly southward, and ultimately empties itself in the Solway Firth. From the Hartfell group of mountains the rivers Tweed and Clyde also issue forth, which fact is preserved in the quaint and familiar rhyme,

“Annan, Tweed, and Clyde,
Rise a’ oot o’ ae hill side,”

though the origin of the last of the three streams mentioned is by M'Donald questioned. The courses of the three chief streams, named respectively the Annan, Moffat, and Evan are at first truly insignificant. All of them issue from the mountainous district, and are for a considerable distance little less than mountain rills,

“Solitary things forlorn,
Sob, sobbing evermore.”

The Evan cannot be said to make any marked increase, it retains throughout its somewhat insignificant aspect. The Moffat, perhaps the noblest of the streams mentioned, from its glorious associations, gradually opens into a belt of meadow or arable land, while the

“Annan fed at triple source,
Brattles along its infant course.”

and ere leaving the parish, before reaching the town, expands into a valley or basin known as the rich and luxuriant Strath or Howe of Annandale, which commences in the hollow of Erickstane, above Moffat, and has a length of twenty-five miles, and a breadth of from fifteen to eighteen miles.

It is a matter of some difficulty to arrive at a definite conclusion regarding the derivation and signification of the word Moffat. Chalmers holds that it derived its Gaelic name from the Irish *Mai-fad* signifying the "long plain,"* while another writer demanding attention holds tenaciously to the belief that it came from the word *Oua-vat*, in the Gaelic language signifying "a long deep mountain hollow," having in truth a greater resemblance to the form which it has at present. This definition is corroborated in a recent work of considerable power and utility, by a friend of the author's, Mr. H. A. Long, who states that—"Bottom differs little from Foote: living at foot of hills, closely corresponding to Lothian, and Moffat."† With so much conflicting evidence before us, we prefer accepting the signification advanced by the learned and venerable Chalmers.

The entire area of the parish of Moffat is 40,067 acres, of which number 3,800 are in tillage, 450 under wood, while upwards of 34,000 are accounted for as being in a waste condition, or pasture land. The rent of the lands in the parish is almost £8000, £5750 being derived from sheep, while from corn and cattle £2250

* Chalmers' Caledonia, vol. iii.

† The Names we Bear. By H. A. Long.

are gained—at least such were the estimated values prior to 1854. The population of the Dumfriesshire part of the parish was 2,278 in 1851, in 1831 the population of the entire parish was 2,221, while in 1851 a considerable increase is by the reports indicated, there being 2,304. Dr Singer pictures the industry and economy of the natives in the following. He says—“That part of the rent which is paid from sheep is very handsome, but the tenants are provided with suitable accommodation; and by means of skill and capital, with lands of a sound quality, and flocks of an established character, they are enabled to pay large rents, to employ many servants and artizans, and thus to divide, with their landowners, and with the community, the benefits of their farming industry.”*

Having given a slight sketch of the parish, so that by these preliminary observations the matter contained in the body of the work may more easily be understood, let us now turn our attention to the principal attraction—the town. On a rising ground near to where the valleys of the Moffat and the Annan unite, below the woody plantation of the Gallowhill which lends its charms to diversify and beautify the scene, stands the Burgh of Moffat. Though somewhat irregularly built, showing that no plan has ever been provided to guide the feuars in the formation of their town, it is a picture of loveliness enhanced much by its hilly environs, and by the rural calm which prevails in and around it.

* Dr. Singer's Account of the Parish.

“ No rushing winds disturb the tufted bowers :
No wakeful sounds the moonlight valley knows ;
Save where the brook its liquid murmur pours,
And lulls the waving scene to more profound repose.”

The population of the Burgh varies, and at last census numbered 1560.

We shall not now dwell longer on the present aspect of the Burgh, or detail the prominent features of its prosperity, but dipping deep into the past, investigate its origin ; and coming towards the present, we hope we shall be enabled to present our readers with a complete and satisfactory picture of Moffat as it was and is. As yet it has not been ascertained when Moffat was founded. In ecclesiastical matters we find it mentioned as far back as the eleventh century, while a century later we find it in civil matters taken notice of, and in no indifferent manner either, as the way in which it is styled, denotes the existence of a small population, which apparently carried on industriously various trades. Looking at the ancient division of Lands, customs, forming of local courts, and other things of the same nature, we feel convinced that to the Saxon we must attribute the foundation of the town. We have no special evidence to guide us to such a conclusion, save the fact, that the external objects and customs of the place are similar to many others on the Border of Saxon establishment, and go far to establish the supposition. The idea of Moffat owing its foundation to the Saxon does not, as is frequently supposed, become a barrier to the fact, that to the Gaelic

language the derivation of its name is attributed. At the very earliest period the Gaelic word "Moffat" was, as has been shown, descriptive of the peculiar locality; but on the introduction of the Scoto-Saxon, the Gaelic was abolished, "just as the Gaelic had previously subdued the original tongue." It was between the eleventh and twelfth centuries that the Scoto-Saxon asserted its supremacy: and it is about this period we are first enabled to track Moffat on the historic page with anything like accuracy. There must certainly have been at an earlier period some slight population gathered around its ancient Kirk, existing, as we formerly hinted, farther back.

In the fourteenth century, Robert Bruce speaks in a charter of beerhouses and bakehouses, "denoting," as one writer remarks, "an amalgamation of corn-farming, trading, and manufactures;" and which in our opinion indirectly hints at the existence of Moffat at a more remote period, as, in the natural course of events, after the foundation of the town, it would be some time ere it could institute such pursuits. This too, appears more probable when we consider that Moffat, in comparison with other towns founded in more modern times, stands even now in size insignificant. And irrespective of this, in ancient times it appears to have had another site—namely, at Auldtoun, the name itself indicating something to that effect. It is generally supposed Auldtoun preceded Moffat, and if such an hypothesis can be satisfactorily established, we must naturally ascribe the existence of Moffat to a date earlier than has

yet been mentioned. While occupying its present site, it is in general matters spoken of as far back as the twelfth century: and if Auldtoun preceded it, we may cite the eleventh century as the period of its existence—the old Kirk of necessity being situated there. Nothing has come under our observation specially to corroborate the prevalent belief, save its frequent occurrence in the *Retours*.* For example—“Maii 7, 1672, Alexander Murray, haeres domini Robert Murray de Priestfield, militis patris—in annuo redditu 459m: de 5 mercatis terrarum de Aultoune, antiqui extentus infra parochiam de Moffet et sennescallatum Annandiae.”† This probably has reference to the farm of Auldtoun still existing, but while admitting that Moffat at one time occupied this site, we plead ignorance as to the date, and refrain from surmising at it; and express the belief that no documentary evidence will ever be adduced to corroborate the fact, or prove itself worthy of being admitted into an authentic history. Thus we are compelled to write the history of Moffat from the beginning of the twelfth century. As will be observed, we have seen that to all appearance Moffat owes to the Saxon its establishment. We have investigated the period at which it is first mentioned, and analysed the probabili-

* *Inquisitionium Specialium, Ad Gapellum, Domini Regis Restor-natarum Abreviatio: Ratione Loci et Temporis Ordine Disposita.*

† Which literally translated stands thus—May 7, 1672, Alexander Murray, heir of Mr Robert Murray of Priestfield, soldier, his father.—The annual rent of 459m of the five merkland of Auldtoun of old extent below the parish of Moffat and Stewartry of Annandale.—The “m” at the end of 459 is probably “merks,” but no evidence exists to prove it positively.

ties of its having occupied another site : and having gone so far, let us, in the succeeding chapter, take a more general glance at Moffat in its embryo state prior to its being chartered.

CHAPTER II.

Its Physical aspect—Moffat denominated at a remote period a “Toune”—Its Inhabitants, and their Customs.—Necessities of the Scottish People during the Bruce period—Villas and Territories—Division of Lands, and privilege of Pasturage—Its first Charter—Its next.—Ecclesiastical Notes—Its Church prior to the Reformation.—The Vicarlands.

IT is impossible to procure sufficient evidence to give us a correct idea as to the size and condition of Moffat at this period. In imagination we wander six centuries back, and behold it in the beauty of its hamlet garb,

“ A place of nestling green for poets made.”

rendered still more lovely by its woody surroundings (now much diminished), which in future days were destined to give shelter alike to the marauder and the persecuted in the days of the Covenant. Certain it is that at this period Moffat had in and around it a small population, which, from the wording of sundry charters and deeds, we presume carried on various trades, which although existing to meet the necessities of its inhabitants, still evinced strong signs of animation—we might say unusual activity, considering its size, as far as we can learn. One peculiar feature regarding this is, that at this date it is talked of as a “Toune.” Whether

this alludes to its size and external appearances of prosperity at the time, or is merely a mode of expression peculiar to the particular period, we know not, but to the latter we incline. The inhabitants did not as now apply themselves assiduously to work, to breed and preserve stock, but looked more to the brewing and selling of "yill," in the manufacture of which they appear to have been adepts; and of which a Superior of Moffat (James Johnstone of Corehead) at a later date makes mention, when in his Deposition anent Teinds he says, "that the Tennants take no care of stock, but of their brewing and yill selling." This is shown too by the various grants of tenements in Moffat, denoting that such trades were carried on, more especially the charter of Robert Bruce already referred to, wherein he speaks of "brewhouses and bakehouses." Before the period of Bruce the people of Scotland were compelled, owing to the daring acts of their neighbours, to evacuate their retired and peaceful homesteads, to give up those seclusions wherein their joys and sorrows had alike been fostered, and retire into hamlets and villages, rendering themselves less liable to those depredations which necessitated their removal. Chalmers states that they had thus to live, "rather than in farms, for their mutual security and comfort." While enumerating the public buildings, churches, &c., and places of manufacture they possessed, he says, "all of them had their malt-kills and their brewhouses; and even the hamlets had their brewhouses, which supplied their common beverage." These villages and the like were

termed *villas*; hence we find Moffat in the *Retours** frequently mentioned in this fashion, even at a much later date—1635, and subsequently.† Adjoining this was a considerable tract of land called a territory, which was under the supervision of the husbandmen and cottagers,‡ whose duty it was to cultivate it in their proportions, and of the “territorio de Moffat” mention is made continually in the public registers of lands. To the husbandmen were allotted the somewhat arduous task of tending the cultivation of *carucates*, bovates, or oxgates, while the cottars were imposed with the more homely duty of renovating, when necessary, their tenements and tofts.§ The extent of the privilege of the inhabitants to pasturage on the common-lands (of which we speak elsewhere) was controlled by the amount of arable land they possessed within the territory.

The first charter which has any special reference to Moffat is one granted by Robert I. to “Adae Barbitonsorie of the lands of the toft in Moffat cum duabus bouatis terre adjacentibus que quondam Willielmus dictus Inglis ad firmam tenuit, de Domino Vallis Annandiae avo nostro.”|| During this reign we find it seldom mentioned, and when so, in such an inadvertent manner as to render it impossible for us to put it into any form. We may however safely infer, from its comparatively insignificant aspect at present, that it made few and unimportant steps towards progression, that

* Inquisitorium Specialium. † Moffat Times of 1857, &c.

‡ Tytler's History of Scotland, and Chartulary of Kelso.

§ Chalmers' Caledonia, vol. i. || Robertson's Index to Charters.

it retained its rustic beauty and calm, not yet destroyed by the bustling sounds of manufacture: and that it played a simple, yea, unnoticed part in the history of Scotland at this date. It was, however, destined to be associated with one or two stirring events—deeds that caused our country fearlessly to don the spotless garb of liberty, and wield the sceptre of protection over a true-hearted and a loyal people. Its next charter is in the reign of David II., when he grants to “Robert Lage, of the lands of Neatherholme, Altoun-ayle, four oxgate of land in Moffat; and twa cottages, whilk was ane Wm. Wezage and John Plegnans forisfecit.”* These are not Burgh Charters, but are simply introduced in these pages to shew when mention is first made of it, and by this means more easily find out the early incidents connected with the town, and trace its progress. Many lands are at this period transferred to various parties, but which having latterly become more intimately associated with the town, we refrain from taking notice of at present, reserving the information for a subsequent chapter.

The Church of Moffat was, by a grant of Robert de Brus, transferred to the Bishop of Glasgow in the year 1174, thus we find it with others recorded in 1187-89—“De ecclesiis de Moffet—de Kirkepatrick—de Drieufdale—de Hodelm—et de Castlemilk,” followed by a similar passage written under the same date, all of which were confirmed by the grants of William the

* Robertson's Index to Charters.

Lion, and likewise by several Popes of a subsequent period.* Prior to the Reformation the “rectoria de Moffat” was constituted one of the prebends of Glasgow, and corroborative evidence of this is found by its being taxed £5 in a *taxatio* of such prebends, which was instituted for the benefit of the Cathedral about 1401.† And again in Bagimont’s Roll during the reign of James V., the sum of £10, “being a tithe of the estimated value.” William the commendator of Culross was, on account of the death of one John Stewart, presented on the 25th of April, 1552, to the vacant prebend of the rectory of Moffat, the right of presentation being invested in the hands of the Queen, by the vacancy of the See: and we find the parish favoured or supplied with the counsel or ministrations of David Mayn, denominated “reidar,” from 1567 to 1586, receiving for his services the sum of £21; when we procure evidence of the proper installation of proper ministers, to rule over the people in holy things.‡ Bishop Cameron ordained, immediately after the erection of his palace or castle, in close proximity to the Cathedral Church of Glasgow, that the thirty-two prebendaries, rectors, or parsons of the metropolitan church—the privilege of prebendaries being the right of electing the Bishop in the event of a vacancy (a right often disregarded by the Popes)—should build houses for a permanent residence in the city, close by him: and that they should procure curates

* Chartulary of Glasgow.

† Fasti Ecclesiæ Scoticanæ, and Chalmers’ Caledonia, vol. iii.

‡ Register of Ministers and thair Stipends sen the yeir of God 1560. For Succession of Ministers see Appendix A.

for the accomplishment of their duties, within their several parishes. Hence we find the incumbent of Moffat mentioned of as residing in the Rottenrow, lapped in security and comfort, enjoying the luxury of repose.† But, as will be seen in chapter vi. of the present work, the reception the curate of Moffat met with, was one of a nature by no means to be envied. We can imagine the procession, with all its glorious associations, which took place at the instigation of the Bishop upon the completion of this master-scheme—the erection of the prelate's palace, and the manors of the prebendaries adjacent. High in truth was the ceremony. Twelve persons bore in front his massive silver crozier, and eleven immense maces were held exultingly on high, while the performers of vocal and instrumental music, arrayed in gorgeous attire, indicative of something better than the choristers of the cathedral, perfectly performed *Te Deum*, and other appropriate sacred selections. Here, too, the rector of Moffat must of necessity participate in the pomp, and be present at the celebration of mass. And so in truth he was! All the representatives of the various parishes within the See encouraged by their presence the alike novel and high festivity. Upon the transference of the church of Moffat to the Bishop, for ever after to be under his paternal superintendence and control—the Viccarlands are said to have been included in the grant, and up to the period of the Reformation were recognised as having no special

† M'Ure's History of Glasgow; and Denholm's ditto.

connection with the place; tradition having declared them part of the Bishopric of Glasgow.* This is quite reconcileable, seeing that the Viccarlands were the church lands till long after the Reformation, when they became the property of a lesser branch of the Johnstone family, who are emphatically denominated the Johnstones of Viccarlands, though they held them from the then existing Superior. In fact, we find the Chartulary contains a passage which has a meaning synonymous to that in question, at least such could readily be deduced from it, even by a cursory observer.†

* Moffat Times of 1857.

† For continuation of those Ecclesiastical "Notes" we refer the reader to chapters vi. and xi. of the present work.

CHAPTER III.

Usurpation of Edward Baliol—Receives encouragement from the Scottish Nobility.—Sir Andrew Murray sends Archibald Douglas into Annandale.—Collects a thousand horsemen at Moffat.—Defeat of Baliol's Army at Annan.—Retrieves his position.—Baliol's character.—The "Three Stan'in Stanes."—Various beliefs regarding them.—Balefires.—The Gallowhill.

EDWARD BALIOL, on account of the ready and beneficial support granted him by Edward III. of England, invaded Scotland, and was crowned at Scone Abbey on the 24th September, 1332. While such proceedings were being carried on in a lawless and reckless manner, the supporters of the Brucian interest, anxious to keep the youthful David from the dangers of war, conveyed him to a safe and peaceful habitation in France. Baliol's army rendezvoused near Moffat in December, 1332, while there earnestly striving to secure the support of the lords of the upper district of Annandale, but to a certain extent they failed. The evident want of independence on the part of Baliol made them refuse to connect themselves with his cause, and be instruments in his hands to promote his glory and gratify his ambitious mind. This idea seems throughout to have been impressed upon the minds of the Scottish people, as we are informed by Tytler that

“the mean dependance of Baliol upon the English monarch deprived him of the affections of the people.” He saw in the far distance the crown of Scotland brightly shining, but he knew, at the same time, that without the aid of Scotchmen, so much required and longed for, he could never attain it. And while we wish to condemn Baliol for his pertinacity and fruitless ambition, still we cannot refrain from praising to a certain extent the perseverance he displayed in his efforts to gain the affection and support of the people. Seeing that Baliol was in a measure overcoming those who endeavoured to prevent his making a way into their territory, and thinking it would be impossible, after the battle of Duplin, to re-establish the power of David, Alexander Bruce, Lord of Carrick and Galway, yielded to the earnest solicitations of the Baliol party.* Such slight encouragement endued him with fresh hopes and expectations, and accordingly he summoned the nobility to Annan castle to do him homage.† We

* He was slain in the battle of Halidon.—*Vide* Appendix IV., Hailes Annals, vol. ii., page 363. He was a natural son of Edward Bruce, Crowned King of Ireland, May 2, 1316. At Ayr, in July 1346, a man was executed for assuming the name of Alexander Bruce, and for some time fooling the Scots with the plausible story that he had been captured during the battle, and “that he had concealed his quality for a long course of years; and at length, under the feigned character of a citizen of Aberdeen, had procured himself to be ransomed.”

† In 1298 Annan was destroyed by fire, and whether a castle was in existence previous to that date is a matter of conjecture, though it is generally admitted that a castle—believed to be the first—was either built or repaired by Robert de Brus, Earl of Carrick, in the year 1300. In the *Statistical Account*, vol. iv., p. 523, we find—“After this (1298) a Castle was either built or repaired by Robert Bruce, for the defence of the town, which he occasionally made his residence.” In April, 1870, a correspondent writing to the *Dumfries*

are not in possession of any matter to guide us to a conclusion, whether many of the nobility patronised him, or whether he was further encouraged by their presence. Shortly afterwards his army fearlessly encamped on the Burgh Moor at Annan. Sir Andrew Murray of Bothwell sent Sir Archibald Douglas into Annandale, for the purpose of watching the daily movements of the invader; and collecting a thousand horsemen at Moffat, came suddenly upon the encampment. Aided by the darkness, this defender of Scottish rights and liberties fell upon the forces of Baliol while the King slept, and being somewhat unsteadied by the influences of revelry and sleep, though they showed fight, they were speedily overcome. The remaining partizans of Baliol fled o'er the country, earnestly seeking a covert to screen themselves from their impending fate; so that in the absolute confusion of his camp, and left by those who previously had sworn allegiance to him, he fled from the scene of the brief but bloody campaign on a cart horse unsaddled.* Having fled

Herald, gave some information regarding Lochmaben Castle, extracted from the *Edinburgh Magazine* of 1788. In it was contained the following:—"Robert, Earl of Carrick, married in 1282 Christian, daughter of William de Irley in Cumberland, and is said to have died in 1303. He had a house on the Balliebrae, nigh the moat of Annan, in the ruins of which a stone was found, now (1788) to be seen in a summer house there, with the inscription, 'Robert de Brus, Count de Carrick, Seigneur de Annan 1300' upon it." Mr. M'Dowall, in his "History of Dumfries," puts forth no opinion of his own, but merely states at page 47 that "from this inscription Chalmers concludes that the castle was rebuilt in that year." The castles of Annan have been numerous, the town having been frequently destroyed by fire.

* Ridpath's Border History; Buchanan's Scotland; and Haile's *Annals*.

over the Solway sands he safely reached England, and at Carlisle put himself under the friendly protection of Lord Dacres, Constable of the Castle and Sheriff of Cumberland, whose kind treatment for some time he enjoyed.* Amongst other English officers slain—some being near relatives of the vassal-king of Scotland—were Henry Baliol, a brother of the pretender, and Walter Comyn, who were mercilessly slaughtered on the west bank of the river Annan.† John Mowbray and Richard Kirk are amongst the noteworthy who fell in the engagement which took place on the 16th December, 1332.‡ Though this caused the supporters of David to renew their praiseworthy efforts with redoubled energy, yet it did not cause Baliol to despair long, or give up the movement with the despondent smile of the vanquished. His power was re-established, receiving encouragement from the continued patronage of Edward, and from his indomitable perseverance: and his chief desire being naturally to maintain his position, he once more stood on the fair road to fortune, and for the support given him, with the liberality of a monarch he freely bestowed many of the lands of Scotland to his English friends and benefactors. The lands of Moffatdale and Annandale, originally the estate of Randolph, Earl of Murray, fell by Baliol's grant into the hands of Henry Percy, receiving also the Castle of Lochmaben (the chief protection of Annandale), as a

* Ridpath's Border History.

† Buchanan's Scotland, Book ix. Hailes talks also of this.

‡ Buchanan's Scotland, Book ix.

means of defending them.* Former historians vividly point out the greed of the English, which shone pre-eminent in their requests. They pled that Baliol having been made king through their generosity and ready aid, he in return must show gratitude for the kindness done him. When the truth is, that Baliol was created king by the influence and support of Edward, not so much for the personal good of the Pretender, as represented, but for the purpose of winning Scotland through the instrumentality of the same, and joining it to the possessions of the unrelenting English monarch. Starting encouraged, and practically assisted by the power of Edward, receiving to some extent the respect and support of the nobility, Baliol's hopes of future success, and expectations of future power, were indeed great. At many times, again, thoughts of power and royalty were expelled from his mind in his anxiety to snatch himself from the gloominess of danger and despair, and to establish his feet upon safer ground. We cannot look back upon the movements of this would-be monarch without feeling an absolute disgust at the mean, ambitious, and presumptuous man. Neither can we look back upon the actions of the English monarch, and his avaricious supporters, without feeling equally disgusted, and almost inclined to pity

* These lands were subsequently possessed by Edward Bohun—after the death of John Bohun, Earl of Hereford. William Bohun again held the castle in 1335: and in 1366 it is said to have been held by Humphrey de Bohun, the latter we fancy being the one mentioned by Lord Hailes, as having led “the van consisting of the archers and lancemen” in conjunction with the Earl of Gloucester, at Bannockburn, on Monday, June 24th, 1314.

Baliol placed in such embarrassed circumstances. Short though his reign was—covering only a space of about four months—it was filled by daily increasing difficulties, mingled with a wilful injustice, and evident delight in receiving personal gain, though it might have a detrimental influence over the interest and affairs of others. Baliol at length had well-nigh exhausted his hereditary ingenuity, and his fate was at hand. Assisted by the French, the supporters of the Brucian interest recalled and established David—a prince, as Tytler remarks, “subjected to many reverses of fortune”—upon the Scottish throne.

On the Beattock road, a mile from Moffat, stand three stones, termed peculiarly the “Three Stan’in’ Stanes,” and said to be in some way connected with the defeat of the usurper on the 16th December, 1332, herein narrated. Of their history little or nothing is known. By some it is believed that these stones commemorate the eventful battle, and by others that they were erected to the memory of three officers who fell during the engagement. The former is improbable, and the latter may be characterised as impossible. Mr M‘Dowall, in his valuable “History of Dumfries,” presumes they are of Druidical origin, which shows the people of Moffat have been inspired by the sentiment of Keats—

“There is a pleasure on the heath
Where Druids old have been,
Where mantles grey have rustled by,
And swept the nettles green,”

for they take a great interest in them, and consider them one of the most important spots in the district, looked at from an historical point of view. Though many whom we have met are determined to stick to the historical association formerly expressed, we fear they will have ultimately to come to the latter belief, as they will take some time to show any connection between the memorials of former ages and the Pretender of 1332. All the ideas as yet expressed are enveloped in doubts and surmises, and it is unlikely that any light shall be brought to bear upon the subject, and clear away the mystery attending it.

A little more than a century after this, when it was ascertained that the English were about to make an incursion into Dumfriesshire, an alarm was given to the inhabitants of its various towns and villages in a singular but effective manner. During the absence of William, Seventh Earl of Douglas, who held the position of Warden of the West Marches, the Burgh of Dumfries was destroyed by fire in 1448.* The country within his Wardency having been devastated by the English, combined with other things as urgent, caused him to return home and superintend the administration of affairs. And, anxious to be guided by those parties who had an interest in all his movements, "he called," says Mr M'Dowall, "a meeting of the whole lords, freeholders, and heads of Border families within the Wardency."† Besides making an agreement to stand

* History of Dumfries. † Ibid.

out against the attacks of the English, they adopted a plan for informing all of the approach of enemies, to which we have referred. When the approach of the English was certain, balefires were ordered to be kindled on suitable hills in Nithsdale and Annandale. Moffat, small as it then was, lay, no doubt, under a deep debt of obligation to the propounder of the scheme ; and to the alike saving and welcome rays which emanated from one of those signals, situated on the Gallowhill. For such we find existed from an old Act—"Item, it is fundin, statut, and raisit in time of werfare anentis bailis, birning and keping for coming of ane Inglis vist in Scotland. Per sall ane baill be brynt on Trailtrow Hill. . . . and ane on be Gallowhill, in Moffat Parochin."*

* Acts of the Scottish Parliament, vol. i.

CHAPTER IV.

Warfare existing during 1448.—Settlement of the family of French in the district.—Their position as landed proprietors.—Property received from the Knights Templars.—Frenchland Tower. The Whitefords.—Discovery of Moffat Well by Miss Whiteford.—Effects of the discovery.—Dr Robert Johnstone.—His numerous bequests.—Foundation of the Grammar School with the money left by him for the purpose.—The supposed unlawful disposition of the money.—Manuscripts bearing on the subject.

AT this period, 1448, the people of Scotland were so engrossed in the warfare existing that they were rendered incapable of attending to domestic or agricultural duties. The people of Annandale and Moffatdale were no exception to the general rule, for the adoption of the motto, "Might is right," was evident and acknowledged by all. We can easily account for the great numbers which followed the principal lairds in the district, especially the Lochwood Johnstones, during the Civil Wars, and other skirmishes of less importance by this. The motto or war-cry of Moffat's meagre population, "Aye ready, aye ready," must frequently have resounded through their mountain shelters, or while fighting under the flaunting banner of the Johnstones, to whom, in time of warfare, they ever proved serviceable. It is but natural to expect that

such a state of affairs materially affected the domestic interests of the party.

A little later than 1448, a family settled in the vicinity of Moffat, the representatives of which are seen at a subsequent period in the position of proprietors of extensive lands in and of the town, as vassals holding them from the superior. They are first seen in an important light in the year 1500, when they erected for themselves a stronghold or peel-house, the ruins of which still occupy a prominent site in the landscape, and from then till a very modern date the Frenches of Frenchland are recognized as important denizens of Moffat. In relation to this possession of land within the town, mention is first made in a *retour* dated January 10, 1635, in the following terms:—
 “Willielmus Frenche, haeres Margaratae Johnestoun, spouse Davidis Frenche in Frenchland, matris—in 1 mercata terra in villa et territorio de Moffat;—E. 13s. 4d.—domo in villa de Moffat, infra 10 libratis terrarum de Moffet parochiam, ejusdem et senescallatum Vallis Annandiae.—E. 3s. 4d.”* And again, reference is made to the foregoing in the following passage.—
 “This inquest was made in the Burgh of Lochmaben,
 by those good and faithful men
 underwritten, who declare upon oath
 that the deceased Margaret Johnestoun, the wife of
 David Frenche in Frenchland, and the mother of
 William Frenche, the bearer of those presents, died last

* Inquisite Speciales.

vest, and seised as of fee in all and whole one merkland lying in the town and territory of Moffat, with the houses, buildings, gardens, parts, pendicles, and all its pertinents whatsoever; also in the house possessed by Alexander Mitchell, blacksmith, lying in the said town of Moffat, in the middle street of Moffat, with its pertinents all lying within the ten pound land of Moffat, the said merkland is now worth yearly £13 4s; and the foresaid house with the pertinents is also worth yearly £13 4s; and the said merkland and house with the pertinents are held immediately of John Johnstoun of Carrystoun, and his heirs, and successors, and assignees, in free blench, ferme for the yearly payment of one penny of silver of the usual money of the Kingdom of Scotland, upon the ground of the said lands, at the feast of Pentecost. Margaret Johnstoun died 1627.”* As will be seen from the first of these quotations, the Frenches had property in Moffat prior to 1635, such at least is indirectly hinted at in the passage referred to, the right of possession being David Frenche’s, by his marriage with Margaret Johnstoun, which, by her death in 1627, became her son’s, William Frenche, which fact is mentioned in the *retour* of date January 10, 1635, as quoted. The fact of their building a peel-house in 1500 does not indicate possession of land. We find the power in their district greatly and gradually augmented, after the date here

* *Moffat Times* of 1857.

mentioned. Sometime in the sixteenth century they received from the knights Templars, the property of Holehouse, Chapel, Craikscaigs, and Gardenholm, which previously belonged to the Knights of St. John of Jerusalem, and formed the "estate or barony of Cuthberts—rig and constituted a Chapelry."* Part of this property was lately joined to the parish of Kirkpatrick-Juxta, and three centuries ago was acquired by the Annandale family from one of the Griersons of Lagg, "whose family," says Mr Charles Stewart, "have long held good repute and position among the old Chiefs and Baronets of Dumfriesshire, with the exception of 'Bluidy Lagg of persecuting memory'."†

It may be deemed necessary to speak briefly of Frenchland Tower, the private patrimony of the Frenches. Till 1746 or 1750, that family was in possession of it, when it passed by purchase into the hands of Lord Ellick, who for about forty years held it, when Dr Rogerson, who was at one time first physician to the Empress Catherine of Russia, became possessor of it, and subsequently joined it to the Dumerieff estate. And now

"Wrapping the fog about its breast,
The ruin moulders into rest,"

within earshot of the stilly whispers of the "Silver Annan," as it meanders slowly southward; and had

* Communicated by L. Anderson, Esq., to Mr Keddie, and subsequently spoken of in "Moffat: Its walks and Wells," by the latter gentlemen.

† *Vide* "Rides, Drives, and Walks about Moffat."

this ruin but a voice it would utter forth the liquid melody of song fraught with fragments of sorrow and of joy, a combination of the piteous and sublime of other days. And he who penetrates this dreary ruin, intent upon "spurning the yoke of unprofitable care," will find food enough for the most reflective of reflective minds, and lessons aptly suited for developement in life; for here in truth the words of "Delta" will be found most applicable—

"Spectral silence pointeth to decay."

In its ruinous condition its beauty is but partially impaired, for there is a mouldering beauty in a mouldering state. The Ancient casts a ray upon the more artistic handiwork creations of modern times. And we question much if the stranger, struck by the ruins of its antique beauty, will find terms more suitable with which to express his admiration and appreciation than those of Byron.—

"Hail to thy pile! more honour'd in thy fall
Than modern mansions in their pillar'd state;
Proudly majestic frowns thy vaulted hall,
Scowling defiance on the blasts of fate."

In the beginning of the seventeenth century Moffat owned amongst its inhabitants a man of considerable ability, and a lady of pure intellect and keen perception, whose talent and curiosity rendered her serviceable to the Moffatians, by whom she will ever be considered their chief benefactor. We deem it almost unnecessary to intimate that in the preceding remarks we allude to Walter Whitefurde and his accomplished daughter.

Having been so intimately associated with the town, and connected with the surrounding district in the matter of property, we shall give a brief biographic sketch of those individuals.

Dr Whitefurde is said to have been a matriculated student of the University of Glasgow, as far back as 1598, but this we fancy is rather far back, as M'Ure assigns 1601 as the date of his entry. He was a son of Adam Whitefurde, of Milntoun,* and was destined to become an able and enthusiastic ecclesiastical student, and for his undeniable zeal and ability, honours worthy of such were liberally conferred upon him. He completed his philosophic studies, took his degrees, and in 1604 was created a Regent or Professor of the University.† Having afterwards passed through his divinity studies, he was by Archbishop Spottiswoode ordained, appointed as shewn in Appendix to the pastorate of Moffat, in 1610, promoted in 1628 by the gift of the King, without question, to the sub-deanery of Glasgow, as proof exists of his having signed certain deeds at that period in company with the Archbishop, Dean, and Chapter of the See. Whitefurde remained in Moffat till 1630, after which he was, through Sir William Alexander, of Menstrie, subsequently Earl of Stirling, presented to the episcopal See of Brechin; was consecrated on the 7th December, 1634, where M'Ure, in his "History of Glasgow," says "he exercised his

* Spottiswoode's History.

† Manuscript Letter of William Fleming, D.D., author of the "Vocabulary of Moral Philosophy," and late Professor of Moral Philosophy in Glasgow University, of date Nov. 9, 1857.

functions till the beginning of the troubles in the year 1639." After he was presented to the sub-deanery in 1628 (in 1630), on the completion of a law suit, he procured decree, being by this preferred to a party vainly presented by Sir James Cleland, who presumptuously claimed the patronage.* Though a confirmation of his right had been obtained, he had subsequently to compound with the Prior of Blantyre, who it appears had "an old tack of the teinds of the sub-deanery." The authorities of the University had apparently the right of patronage, as they presented to the office then, vacant "by the decease of umquhill Mr Walter Whitefurde, or umquhill Mr Gavin Hamilton, or either of them, or by the decease, deprivation, demission, desertion, removal, resignation, or translation of any other person, &c." "From these words," says Dr Fleming, "it would appear that there had been a struggle for the office of sub-dean, and that some of those that held it had been deprived, or had deserted." Some writers have made a lamentable mistake as to the death of Bishop Whitefurde. That event is stated to have taken place in 1664, but it is an indisputable fact,—a fact emanating from the most careful and authentic historical writers—that he died in 1643 in England, whither he had fled on the deprivation of his functions by the Assembly of Glasgow. The connection of the Bishop with the subject of the present work, lies not exclusively in ecclesiastical matters, as during his residence in the town till 1630, and sub-

* Fleming's Manuscripts.

sequently, he possessed much land in the district, which descended to James Johnstone of Corehead (then representative of a lesser branch of the Lochwood Johnstones, and who previously occupied the position of Chamberlain to the Bishop), by his marriage with Rachel the Bishop's daughter.*

In the year 1633 Moffat was destined, by the ingenuity of Miss Whitefurde, to be ever afterwards recognised as a place for the invalid, an hospital constructed by the hand of Nature for the sick-stricken man, which Home has pictured in the following lines, illustrative of its then inauspicious surroundings, and the change which has taken place since he penned them, as the surroundings of Moffat's sulphurous spring are in every respect worthy of the locality—

“ No grace did nature here bestow,
But wise was nature's aim;
She bade the healing waters flow,
And straight the graces came.”

Miss Whitefurde had already had some acquaintance with the then incomparable English Spas, and thus from knowledge then acquired on the subject, as previously hinted, her curiosity led her to the investigation of some strange phenomena, resulting in the discovery of the far-famed sulphurous spring in the vicinity of Moffat. It is probable that its discovery did not, as we might suppose, become the object of consternation or curiosity to the inhabitants; and certain it is that the now admitted curative powers of the water did not

* Statistical Accounts of Scotland, vol. iv.

make Moffat gain that share of patronage which it presently receives. The expense of travelling, the imperfect house accommodation, and the lack of those things of which we all stand in need, were the barriers which at this time stood prominently in the way, to enable parties to avail themselves of the opportunity afforded them, or in any way render Moffat a place of fashionable resort. It is at a later date it is thus represented. It would, however, be foolish to deny the comparative good derived from the discovery of the well, even at the early period. The visitors were not numerous, but they gave a greater impulse to trade, gave the people an idea of their own importance, rendered building necessary to meet the demands of strangers; and thus we see laid the foundation of a fabric afterwards prosperous, by Miss Whitefurde, whose talents appear to have been wasted upon the Moffatians, as no tangible evidence of gratitude and respect has as yet been shown by them towards her, though the memories of parties of less importance have been perpetuated in monuments of greater value than the discoveries they made. Whatever good was derived from the discovery of the well was not seen till a later date, when ample accommodation was provided for the invalid and the stranger.

There are parties who "though dead yet speak," whose benevolence has erected monuments, upon which letters are inscribed which can never be effaced, and whose memory is revered in the grateful hearts of a sometimes large community. And such, indeed, is the

truth in relation to the particular case, which is alike our privilege and duty to lay before our readers. Robert Johnstone, LL.D., brother-in-law to George Heriot, was born in Edinburgh in 1567. Although a man of considerable literary power, his worth was not fully known, nor his name associated with anything particularly good and noble, till his death, which event took place in London, where he had spent the greater part of his life, in 1639. To Glasgow, Dumfries, Montrose, Dundee, and other towns, including Moffat, he bequeathed large sums of money for the erection of charitable or educational institutions, making suitable arrangements for the execution of his favourite desires, and sufficient money to enable the institutions to be efficiently worked. In his settlement, dated from Blackfriars, London, September 30th, 1639, he leaves £1000 for the erection of a Grammar School, with suitable salaries for the various teachers.* This money was to be laid out in purchasing land, which was to maintain the seminary, while Lord Johnstone was appointed executor, and the Lord Provost and Magistrates of Edinburgh the Patrons of the School. But there are, alas! men who, when imposed with a responsible duty, forget the injunctions given them, and neglect the fulfilment of their solemn offices. And such was the treatment this act of benevolence met with, we consider, at the hands of the executor. The wishes of the testator were but partially respected, the full designs

* For perusal of Dr Johnstone's settlement we are indebted to Mr Wilson, Moffat. For passage referring to Moffat see Appendix B.

of the will never being carried into effect. A bursary was also instituted by Dr Johnstone, which is still existing; but it is doubtful whether the purchasing of lands took place, to enable the school to be carried on under the superintendence of an efficient staff of teachers. In fact, we may say it was not done, as subsequent events fully exemplify—namely, the incorporation of the Grammar School with the Parish School, under the name of the Academy, which took place in 1834, causing it only to draw the annual rent of the money left for it. In a manuscript letter, purporting to be written to the *Dumfries Times* of 1839, now before us, we find a peculiar passage with reference to the old Grammar School of Moffat, and the incorporation of the same with the Parish School already alluded to. The writer says, “But, for example, many years ago a benevolent gentleman mortified a large sum to establish a seminary in the parish of Moffat, consisting of three teachers, and salaries specified for each, under the trust of the heir of the Annandale Estates; and a particular sum also is specified in the donor’s will for erecting buildings for the seminary, with instructions, if the sum for the buildings was not sufficient, they should be finished out of the sum for purchasing ground. Ground was never purchased, as far as known, nor the salaries all wholly paid nor accounted for; but a building for the school was erected, and the parishioners occupied it as their right for more than forty years; yet the kind Superior has, within the last three or four years, taken possession of the building, without the leave of

any asked or given. Is this agreeable to the law of land, though the buildings were raised on the property of the Superior? Is forty years' possession now of no avail, though there is no feu of the situation? Must the parishioners in this way lose their building? The kind Superior has also joined this Seminary to the Parish School, and all under the charge of the Parish Schoolmaster, contrary to the petition of 150 subscribers, both Heritors, Feuars, and Householders."* This is a point upon which we feel inclined to say little. From the foregoing passages, combined with the testimonies of old inhabitants, we conclude that something mysterious has caused the benevolence of Dr Johnstone to be partially swallowed up. We cannot exactly say to what extent this goes; but we feel convinced, and we presume our readers will do likewise, that the injunctions of Johnstone were, in a measure, neglected—the full objects of the institution hidden; and it is not to be wondered at, that general dissatisfaction prevails in the district, on account of the peculiar disposition of the money left for the erection of a Grammar School.

* Beattie's Manuscripts.

CHAPTER V.

The Johnstones of Annandale—Genealogical Sketch of the Family—Offices held by the leading Representative.—Battle of Dryfesands—Its cause and result.—The Johnstones as Freebooters.—The “Devil’s Beef-Tub.”—The present owner of the Annandale Estates.

TO speak of Moffat without introducing to the observation of the reader the family of Johnstone would almost be an impossibility. It may be objected that a general survey of that family’s exploits has already been taken in works with greater and more just pretensions than the present. It must, however, be remembered that their deeds, however fully and ably narrated, are confined to the wide sphere of the shire in which the Johnstones were located, without minute or particular reference to those towns within the shire, which in our opinion are worthy of observation. Such as have spoken of the Johnstones of Annandale, have in the necessary limitation of their subject failed to cite Moffat, as being in the “good old days of might,” one of the numerous seats of that family’s power—a power which, by the modifications necessitated by the gentle influences of Time, is used, not abused : and which is calculated to cause those in inferior positions to respect,

not fear, the holder of the estates, and which draws friends, not servants, towards him. While for the sake of continuity we briefly glance at the general position which at different periods they occupied in their varied pursuits and avocations—the warrior and freebooter—we shall endeavour particularly to show their connection and association with Moffat. The insignificance which usually attends it must not in the present instance be recognised, for here, when the habit was consistent with the times, through the agency of plunder and freebooting, independent of their titles, their property, and their better deeds, they gained for themselves a “local habitation, and a name.” Here, as will presently be shewn, they betook themselves to an entrenchment, if we may so call it, from its seclusiveness and the surrounding peculiarities of Nature, well adapted to screen from general observation the fruits of their nefarious acts, and which, in truth, rendered at subsequent periods many services to those who frequented it, and gave it a name.

The exact date of the settlement of the Johnstones in Annandale has not as yet been ascertained, but the name is first mentioned in the time of Alexander III. Mention is also made of them in the Ragman Roll, as Barons who swore fealty to Edward I. of England in 1296, amongst whom were four descendants—Gilbert, Thomas, Walter, and John—of Hugo de Johnstone, spoken of by Mr M'Dowall as being in possession of land in East Lothian during the reign of Alexander.*

* History of Dumfries, p. 43.

It has been asserted by some authorities that this family gave the name to the parish of Johnstone in Annandale. The general belief is, however, that they took their name from the lands and barony of Johnstone, which is corroborated by the indisputable authority, Chalmers, when he says—"This place (Johnstone) afterwards gave the surname to the family of Johnstone, who became a powerful clan in Annandale."* The Johnstones must not be found alone as warriors, but likewise as a titled family. Up till 1633 they were baronets, but at that time Sir James Johnstone was created by Charles I. Lord Johnstone of Lochwood, by an order dated at Holyrood house, 20th June, 1633, and in 1643 he was made Earl of Hartfell.† He died in 1653. His son James succeeded him as Earl of Hartfell, who, on account of the extinction of the title of Earl of Annandale by the death of James Murray in 1658, "resigned," as the *Scottish Nation* tells us, "his peerage into the hands of his Majesty." On the 13th February, 1661, however, he received a new patent making him Earl of Annandale and Hartfell, Viscount of Annand, Lord Johnstone of Lochwood, Lochmaben, Moffatdale, and Evandale.‡ He died in 1672, his son William succeeding him as Earl of Annandale. In

* Chalmers' Caledonia, vol. iii, p. 179.

† This title was taken from the remarkable hill of that name above Moffat. The *Statistical Account* says—"Its altitude was taken with great care and accuracy by Dr Walker, Professor of Natural History in Edinburgh University. It is within a trifle of 3000 feet higher than the village of Moffat, which may be 300 feet or more above the level of the sea." This is an exaggerated statement, the real height of Hartfell is 2635 feet above sea level.

‡ Acts of the Scottish Parliament.

1701 the earldom was raised by William III. to a marquise, but William did not live long to bear the title, in fact, the title itself had but a short life, there being three only of the family who ever possessed it. William had two wives, having by the first a son James, who inherited both estates and titles, and who died abroad in 1730. Upon his death part of the property went to Charles Hope, who had married a daughter of William's, and who subsequently became Earl of Hopetoun, while the remaining lands, with the titles devolved upon George, a son of William's by the second marriage, and who had from the year 1745 been confined as a lunatic; and by his death in 1792 the title became dormant.* In the fourteenth century Annandale was crowded with people of the name of Johnstone, who were desirous of being recognised as near relatives of the great Johnstones—the Johnstones of Lochwood—who were acknowledged the superiors or chiefs of the clan. But it must be remarked, that although there were some slight claims to relationship, these were not acknowledged by the elder family, who alone bore the titles mentioned above.

* George was born on the 29th May, 1720, and on account of the death of his brother Lord John in 1742, his mind became sorely affected. David Hume the historian thus writes:—"In 1745 I received a letter from the Marquis of Annandale inviting me to come and live with him in England. I found also that the friends and family of that young nobleman were desirous of putting him under my care and direction, for the state of his mind and health required it. I lived with him a twelvemonth. My appointments during that time made a considerable accession to my small fortune." *Vide Hume's Autobiography*, before vol. i. of his "History of England." George died at Turnham Green, 29th April, 1792, in the 72nd year of his age, and was buried at Chiswick, 7th May, 1792.—"*Debrett's Peerage*," also *Burton's "Life of Hume."*

The chief or head of the Lochwood Johnstones was not a titled or warlike man alone, but frequently acted in a sense a public part, inasmuch as he was Steward of Annandale, frequently Warden of the West Marches, and is sometimes spoken of as Governor of Lochmaben Castle. For example, during the reign of Charles II., to James Johnstone, Earl of Annandale, the Governorship of Lochmaben Castle was transferred. In that position he remained till 1730, when the many parishes of Annandale, feeling annoyed and oppressed by the claims of the governor, refused to give further payment, and from the Court of Session obtained "a suspension of the levying of his usual receipts, which the same Court refused to sanction when the Act 1747, abolishing heritable jurisdictions, extinguished the office, and all claims under it." Upon the extinction of his office the Marquis claimed £1000 as compensation, but was allowed nothing. The governorship of Lochmaben Castle was indeed a lucrative situation, having for his maintenance £300 Scots, the fishing of the surrounding lochs, and what was termed *laird-a-mart*, or *lardiner-mart* cow, being a fat cow regularly given by each parish in Annandale to the Constable of the Castle.* The cows at one time amounted to thirty, but in 1609 the number was reduced to twenty, and, as a writer says, "60 needing geese, and the forest of Woodcockaire for summer forage for horses."† Up till about the fifteenth century the Johnstones were recognised as being comparatively

* Forsyth's Beauties of Scotland, vol. ii.

† Edinburgh Magazine of 1788.

harmless. With the exception of some trivial yet courageous deeds which rendered them worthy of notice, and caused them to assume the crest of the winged spur, and motto of "Aye ready," little or nothing is heard of their prowess in the field of battle. But quarrels at that time arose betwixt them and other families, brave and patriotic as themselves, which made them more conspicuous. The intrepidity of their nature served as a shield to guard off the frequent attacks made upon them, and carried them with a spirit of independence unshaken through the many conflicts in which they were engaged. One quarrel in particular took place betwixt them and the leading Nithsdale family—the Maxwells—terminating in extensive loss of life, and destruction of much property in the district. The eighth Lord Maxwell having claims to the earldom of Morton, insisted that the Regent—James Douglas appointed Regent in 1572—should give up to him both titles and property. The Regent unwilling to do so, yet doubting his own capability to substantiate his claims to the earldom, pressed Maxwell to give up all idea of claiming the title. The latter having however refused, the Regent, fearing he might hinder the advancement of his favourite projects, and destroy the continuance of his good fortune, committed him to the Castle of Edinburgh, then to the Castle of Blackness, from which he was liberated in March, 1573.* This punishment had apparently little or no effect upon Maxwell, for upon his liberation he con-

* History of Dumfries.

tinued to urge his claims to be recognised as Earl, and was punished by a still greater hardship—the deprivation of his office as Warden of the West Marches, the title being conferred (which increased the dishonour) on the representative of the rival house of Annandale, the Laird of Johnstone. The Johnstones having subsequently burned houses, the property of the Lord of Nithsdale, Robert, the brother of Lord Maxwell, destroyed the stronghold of the Johnstones—Lochwood Castle, seven miles from Moffat and built about the fourteenth century. The destruction of Lochwood roused the Annandale Chief to such an extent that, receiving support from the bold Buccleuch, the Elliots, Armstrongs, and Grahames, he made speedy preparations for war.* Near Lochmaben, a party of Nithsdale men were attacked and put to flight, Robert, the destroyer of Lochwood, being one of the many slain.† The remnant of the army fled and sought refuge in the Parish Kirk of Lochmaben, but followed by the stern and vengeance seeking clan of Johnstone, they were discovered in their retreat, and by the burning of the sacred edifice, the fugitives were compelled to surrender. This sacrilegious act in turn caused a still more bloody conflict—the Battle of Dryfesands, 7th December, 1593, in which the Maxwell's again suffered an ignominious defeat. The Maxwell's conscious of numerical superiority hoped to counteract the movements of Sir James Johnstone, who, at the head of his forces, faced them

* Tales of a Grandfather. † Scottish Nation.

on the 6th December. The Johnstones took up their position on a slight acivity, so far having an advantage over their adversaries; and it was not long till they shewed their superiority in the art of war. Being much attached to their chieftain, the strength and courage peculiar to the Johnstone clan made them ready to plunge into danger, to secure liberty and avenge a seeming wrong. By this means the strong in numbers were overcome by the gallant few, whose hardihood enabled them to maintain their rights, and guard off the attacks of the Lord of Nithsdale's practised army. Once more the Maxwell's sought safety in flight, but by so doing they committed an irretrievable mistake, for while the battle was at its height, comparatively few were slain, but no sooner had they shown their heels to the enemy than a bloody carnage ensued. The Johnstones followed in hot pursuit slaying all with whom they came in contact. Seven hundred of the Maxwell's fell, including Lord Maxwell, who, while in single combat with the Laird of Johnstone, was treacherously shot through the back by Will, of Kirkwill.* "The battle of Dryfesands," says Sir Walter Scott, "was remarkable as the last great clan battle fought on the Borders, and it led to the revival of the strife betwixt the Maxwells and Johnstones, with every circumstance of ferocity, which could add horror to civil war."

Sir James Johnstone was invited, by the son of the

* Scottish Nation, and History of Dumfries.

Lord Maxwell slain, to a friendly meeting, one party alone to be taken by each person concerned. The conference took place at Auchmanhill on the 6th of August, 1608. Lord Maxwell's chosen followers, on this occasion, having gone aside with Johnstone's friend, a quarrel ensued, during which one or other of them fired a pistol. This was a fitting opportunity for Maxwell to wreak vengeance on the head of his inveterate enemy—an opportunity not lost, for as Sir James turned hastily round to learn the cause of the disturbance, Maxwell shot him through the back with a pistol "charged with a brace of poisoned bullets." Not content with what he had already done, Maxwell proceeded to attack Johnstone lying dying at his feet, but was kept off to a great extent by him using his fast fleeting energies in defending himself against the treacherous wretch till death put an end to his sufferings.* Maxwell, struck by the consciousness of wrongdoing, and by the thought which must have flashed vividly upon his mind—the enormity of the crime he had perpetrated—fled the country, and in his absence his estates were forfeited. Some years after, endeavouring to gain admittance to his native kingdom once again, he was captured in the County of Caithness, brought to the City of Edinburgh, and executed there on the 21st May, 1613.† The death of Maxwell, though in a sense awful, seems to have been viewed with almost universal satisfaction. But yet it must be admitted

* *Tales of a Grandfather*, p. 577.

† *Spettiswoode's History of Church and State*.

that many viewed his crime, as Mr M'Dowall says, "a legitimate piece of feudal revenge." Throughout Nithsdale there were many manifestations of regret, the beauty of which can in some measure be modified, in as much as it is supposed that sorrow prevailed not so much for the man, but because "he was their chief, the representative of an ancient and honoured house, who, whatever had been his faults to others, had done nothing to forfeit their affection; and how could they do otherwise than sorrow for his fate?" Though sorrowed for by his followers, which was but natural and right, his crime must be viewed as one of an atrocious and cruel nature, and his death as just retribution for a great offence.

In the capacity of freebooters the Johnstones are seen conspicuously. Their character must not be tinsled, nor must we represent them as the embodiment of good, for in the matter of self-aggrandisement they were capable of acting a somewhat inferior part, when the custom was almost universally acknowledged, when the habit was consistent with the times. They recognised and were satisfied with

"The good old rule, the simple plan,
That they should take who have the power,
And they should keep who can."

And while acting upon the suggestive word which Wordsworth has put into the mouth of Rob Roy, one of the same fraternity, they were not withheld in their depredations from manifesting cruelty to satisfy their designs. If we follow them we perceive them in the

glaring indifference of their acts, and the open defiance which they manifest in the pursuance of their villanous avocation. The property of their neighbours is treated as if it had been taken from their lands, and that their acts are but legitimate appropriations. But, as in all cases when freedom is abused, the sphere in which they practised the art was too limited, and consequently they crossed the Border to gain satisfaction in fine herds of oxen, which were stealthily driven within their own territory, and subsequently concealed in the then famous receptacle for the produce of crime—the “Devil’s beef Tub,” otherwise the “Marquis of Annandale’s Beef Stand,” receiving its name from this fact.* For a graphic description of the origin of the name we are indebted to Mr Brown, a local poet of no mean merit of which the following is the substance:—

“Then thieving, and reiving, and foray, and raid,
 Were the handsomest forms of the great cattle trade:
 But the stealer of yore, is a dealer to-day,
 Though which the genteeler we care not to say.
 But hither came Cloutie, the patron of thieves,
 For here for the nonce were sequestered the beeves,
 Which the Johnstones, the great cattle firm of the day,
 Transferred to themselves in their grand dealing way.
 But the rowting of nowte in the lonely recess—
 It costs little more than the word of a guess,
 To fancy the hollow turned into a tub,
 And the herd laid in salt-vat for Prince Beelzebub.”†

* “It looks,” says the Laird of Summertrees, “as if four hills were laying their heads together to shut out daylight from the dark hollow space between them. A deep blackguard-looking hole it is, and goes down straight from the roadside as perpendicular as it can do, to be a heathery brae.”—Sir Walter Scott’s *Redgauntlet*.

† Moffat: Musings and Maunderings, by Brown.—T. Murray & Son, Glasgow, 1870.

During the reign of Mary, the freebooters made themselves particularly conspicuous, and no orders issued could bring them under subjection. In October, 1567, during the regency of Moray, a proclamation was made for the purpose of suppressing the invasions of the thieves of Annandale and Eskdale, but its full design was, we believe, never carried into effect from some unknown cause. By an order issued 6th November, 1567, we are informed that they were in the habit of securing many persons they met, binding them, and keeping them secure till an amnesty was made, when they were relieved. The Regent, infuriated by the thought that misdemeanours of such a type were being perpetually committed on the Borders, instituted an enquiry which resulted in confirmation of those statements which had previously reached his ears; and accordingly he “forbade such practises, under severe penalties.”* With a strong force he proceeded to attack the freebooters, who continued to elude his grasp and remain secure, which can be accounted for by the fact, that they had friendly mountain shelters, from which they sallied forth for improper purposes and into which no stranger could or would enter. On the 6th April, 1569, something occurred which seemed as if the whole race of Border thieves was shortly to be exterminated. Many distinguished and influential men agreed to support with might and main the Regent Moray, and aid him to restore peace on the Borders by bringing the thieves of Annandale, Liddes-

* Chambers' Domestic Annals.

dale, Ewesdale, and Eskdale to justice.* The Johnstones of Annandale are particularly pointed out as one of the worst clans who practised such nefarious acts. At Kelso, these patriotic individuals not only manifested, in terms of resentment, their hatred to the freebooters, but also to their wives, children, and even servants, the agreement they then made concluding with the terms—"We sall ever esteem the quarrel and deidly feid equal to us all, and sall never agree with the said thieves, but together with ane consent and advice." Thus was hostility again proclaimed. During the winter of 1597, the Borders still assumed a turbulent aspect, and Chambers again points out the Johnstones as parties continually molesting their neighbours by acts of injustice and cruelty. In 1606, an act was committed by George, Earl of Dunbar, which might truly have caused the system to be abandoned as a fruitless game,—one hundred and forty thieves were sentenced to death for past misdemeanours.† This severe punishment seemed not to have the desired effect, as he again held courts for the trying of freebooters, which terminated in examples of severity equal to former times, many being again executed. It was soon after reported that the Johnstones and Armstrongs and others had, through sheer force, discontinued the practices which rendered them so conspicuous, and had submitted to the terms of the Government. But this proved a mistake, as they continued

* Chambers' Domestic Annals. † Ibid.

committing sundry offences.* It will readily be observed that, upon the accession of James VI., the freebooters were treated much more harshly. Little or no distinction was made; rank did not withhold the administration of justice. The Johnstones, like other clans who acted similarly, suffered greatly by the sudden turn of the tide of events, having to change their former mode of life and seek more lawful and legitimate means of obtaining such things as they desired. Orders were issued to the effect that no one should retain warlike implements. "Particular clans described as broken men," says Scott, "were especially forbid the use of weapons." Thus, by the wisdom and justice of James, the system of freebooting was gradually suppressed, and the Borders allowed again to assume their wonted peacefulness and repose. Scott vividly points out many of the benefits which accrued from the accession of James and the union of the crowns, particularly the termination of the long and bloody feud which existed betwixt the rival houses of Nithsdale and Annandale, showing that what followed the slaughter of Johnstone by Maxwell, at Auchinanhill, in 1608, was greatly different from the course of administering justice in former times.

"Within the bounds of Annandale
The gentle Johnstones ride ;
They have been there a thousand years,
A thousand more they'll bide."

This prediction of the Balladist is almost verified, as

* History of Scotland.

that family has retained its power in conformity with more modern and moderate principles, however, and the present representative is, we may say, universally respected. It cannot but be regretted by most of our readers, that the present owner of the estate has, as yet, failed to substantiate his claims to the title which his predecessors possessed. It is needless to say with what ease and grace he would bear them, with a perceptible freedom from that pride and ostentation which frequently accompanies the possession of an honourable name.*

* Vide Appendix C.

CHAPTER VI.

The Reign of Charles I. in relation to Religious Matters.—Archbishop Laud.—The Reading of the New Service in Edinburgh.—Framing of the National Covenant.—Army raised by the Presbyterians.—They take Newcastle.—Charles' visit to Edinburgh in 1641.—The Government advise Charles how to act.—Declines to agree to Proposals advanced.—The Solemn League and Covenant.—Nature of the Covenant.—Montrose.—The Battle of Naseby.—The "King's Cabinet Opened."—Trial and Execution of Charles I.—Viscount of Dundee.—Conventicles.—Proclamations issued against them.—Claverhouse proceeds into Annandale.—His Letters from Moffat.—William Moffat.—His Exploits.—Curates.—Death of John Hunter.—Dobbs' Linn.—Halbert Dobson and David Dun.—Their Encounter with Satan.—The Watch Hill.

THE object of this chapter is to show the position of the Scottish people in their struggles for religious liberty during the reign of the Stuarts; and more particularly to observe the state and condition of Moffat, referring briefly to those of its inhabitants who zealously fought for "Christ's Crown and Covenant," and who died in endeavouring to free themselves from the oppressor. From the commencement of the reign of Charles I. the movements of the English caused ecclesiastical affairs in Scotland to assume a turbulent aspect. Charles determined to make all religions or forms of worship

succumb to and kneel at the feet of his particular beliefs and style ; and was desirous “to render Prelacy paramount in his northern dominions, and thus complete the fabric begun by his predecessor.” Laud, Archbishop of Canterbury, became Charles’ confidential man in ecclesiastical matters, and had unquestionable power in turning the will of the King in the direction which would best promote his own wishes and designs ; and by all his actions he showed himself desirous, by means of certain ceremonies and observances, to bring the people of England back to the faith of their ancestors.

Charles, anxious to test the strength of his former operations, ordained that the new service should first be read in Edinburgh, on the 23rd July, 1637. The Dean of Edinburgh accordingly proceeded to read the service on the day set apart for the purpose in St. Giles’ Kirk, but was speedily interrupted, and ultimately put down by the profane declamations of his audience. The service, though much disturbed by the wild shoutings of the assembled multitude, was in reality stopped by the throwing of a stool at the Bishop, and those ever memorable words being pronounced—“Villain, dost thou say mass at my lug.” This act has been attributed to one Jenny Geddes, but Wodrow contradicts this, when he says—“It is a constantly believed tradition that it was a Mrs. Mean, wife to John Mean, merchant in Edinburgh, who first cast the stool.”* This then

* Wodrow’s History.

may be termed the foundation of all subsequent troubles. Four Committees were formed for the purpose of looking after the religious interests of the people, which were commonly called the "Four Tables," in whose hands the full authority of the Kingdom was entrusted. Accordingly the Government first produced a Covenant made up chiefly of a renunciation of Popery, termed, from its universal influence, the National Covenant, which was signed with Scottish enthusiasm, never equalled before or since, on the 28th February, 1638. Having gained a slight victory, they, by the public subscription of the Covenant, set the King and his Government at defiance. On the 21st November, 1638, they held at Glasgow a General Assembly of the Church, at which they renounced and determined to abolish Episcopacy, by legitimate means if possible, and if not, by more forcible measures; at the same time accusing the Bishops of sundry crimes, such as, swearing, drunkenness, bribery, perjury, heresy, &c., which statement was publicly read in all the Scottish Churches. As was to be expected, the Presbyterians took arms to enforce the commands issued during the sitting of the Assembly, raised a sufficiently powerful army, and called as their advisers, guides, and supporters, the Scottish officers who had gained great practice and repute in the German wars, making Alexander Leslie their commander-in-chief.* While such movements were being carried on with a high

* Scott's Tales of a Grandfather.

hand, Charles gathered together, in May, 1639, a large and powerful force, numbering upwards of 20,000 men, ready and fully equipped for the field, with a small fleet having upwards of 5,000 landsmen on board, which he ordered to sail straight for the Firth of Forth, while he led his army across the Border, intent upon bringing the discontented Presbyterians under subjection, receiving a great and glorious victory, and confident, by overcoming them, he would be enabled to re-establish Prelacy in Scotland.* His opponents resisted, however, manfully, and retained their position. On the 28th August, 1640, they crossed the Tweed, advanced on Tyne, and after a brief yet smart encounter with the English, hastened to, and ultimately became the fortunate possessors of Newcastle. The English Puritans, Chambers informs us, aimed at exactly the same things as the Scottish Covenanters, and, as was natural, they gave them their cordial sympathy and support. The Parliament, destined to sit for eleven years, now resumed to consider the grievances said to have been instituted on account of the accession of Charles to the English throne. Laud and others were examined and ultimately imprisoned. Stafford, taken at the same time, was beheaded.† Charles now remained as between two fires. He was oppressed by the movements of his Government, and annoyed at the discontent which prevailed in Scotland. He determined to do all in his power to institute terms of reconciliation

* Chambers' Domestic Annals of Scotland.

† Hume's History of England.

with the Scots, and, if accepted, he knew they might through time become his friends, or as Chambers remarks, "perhaps to some degree his partisans." In the summer of 1641 he revisited Edinburgh, for the purpose of carrying into effect those resolutions which he had formed effectually to maintain peace in the Kingdom. He presided over a meeting of Estates, "and," says Chambers, "there he sanctioned all the measures they had themselves taken; and distributed honours and rewards among the Covenanting leaders." "By this time (1641)," says a writer, "the King observing that the strength and courage of the Commons rose from their confederacy with the Scots, whose army in the north was entirely in their interest, resolved on a journey to Scotland, and to yield them all they desired, in order, thereby, to disunite if possible the Scots from the English, and bring them over to himself."* Charles was over confident, however, in securing the affections and support of the Scottish people, and as a necessary result, upon his return to London he refused to adopt measures advanced by his Government—measures which were apparently the only chain of safety to hang by under the circumstances. His Government said (while enumerating the errors with which his reign had been filled) that he should give himself into the charge of Ministers, enabled, from personal abilities and the power which they possessed, to direct him in all his movements; but this he peremptorily refused. He seemed

* Stevenson's History of the Church of Scotland.

desirous of clinging to the fruitless hope of retaining his position by the ready aid which he might possibly receive from his "friends," the Scots—a belief which his Government was anxious by clear and forcible arguments to expel from his mind, and secure his consent to be led by them into the path which could alone secure him safety and repose among a discontented people. He evinced consummate foolhardiness in his refusal of the proposals advanced, and continued in his own way, gradually procuring for himself universal hatred, which was destined to end in ignominy and death. We are told that what brought to a head that hatred which had so long been smouldering in the breast of his Government, was his foolish attempt, in the month of January, 1642, to secure the principal and most patriotic members of the Lower House.* Charles raised his standard of independence at Nottingham, in August, 1642, proclaiming by such actions that he was willing, yea, even desirous of testing by the strength of the sword, which form of worship should ultimately be chosen by the people—whether Presbyterianism or Prelacy should hold sway in the Kingdom.† In the two campaigns which followed the silent yet effectual proclamation of war, it seemed as if for a time the strength of the Covenanters had waned; and the probabilities were that Charles would conquer. The English instructed parties to speak with the Scots, and procure their consent to a bond of union, promising, at the same

* D'Aubigne's Protector. † Chambers' Domestic Annals.

time that if they became victors the abolition of Episcopacy and re-establishment of Presbyterianism should shortly follow. "Their estates," says Chambers, "accordingly entered into what was called a Solemn League and Covenant with the English Parliament (August, 1643), one of the provisions of which engaged them to send an army against the King." With a harmony and piety seldom seen, the Covenant was mutually entered into. The idea of religious and professed God-fearing men sending troops against their King, has been considered inconsistent by not a few. "It is true," says Stevenson, "adversaries have all alongst objected that this Covenant was a device of hell, because, say they, it binds to hostile measures, and to extirpating of Popery and Prelacy by the sword. But if we could carry in our eye that an army of Papists and Episcopalists were at that instant winning the cause of religion and liberty, it seems but reasonable to admit that Presbyterians might stand in defence of these; and that the better to accomplish this, they might warrantably enter into a Solemn League and Covenant." On the 19th August the Assembly adjourned, appointing a committee to look after the religious rights and liberties of the people, and the ratification of their treaty with the English in their Parliament. On the 24th a proclamation was issued, which contained a command, to the effect that all between sixty and sixteen should be in readiness to answer a call to take up arms in the defence of their principles. Some of the Commissioners appointed, proceeded to England to hasten

matters and procure an agreeable ending of the affair.* Alexander Henderson drew up the Solemn League, characterised, by not a few, as one of the most important documents connected with the religious history of our country. In St. Margaret's Church, Westminster, on the 25th September, 1643, the Houses of Parliament, the Scottish Commissioners, and the Assembly of Divines, met for the purpose of considering the propriety of subscribing the Covenant. Article by article the document was read to the vast assemblage, all standing uncovered with their hands directed heavenwards, swearing reverently to abide by, and defend, if necessary, with their lives, the Solemn League and Covenant of Scotland. The Covenant being so favourably accepted by the English Parliament, it was returned to Scotland, "with orders that it should be subscribed throughout the Kingdom." An author somewhere states that this document was framed for the fulfilment of various objects which could alone be accomplished through its instrumentality. And Dr. M'Crie states, "In this Covenant our fathers bound themselves and our posterity, first, To endeavour the preservation of the Reformed religion in the Church of Scotland, the Reformation of religion in England and Ireland, 'according to the word of God and the example of the best informed churches,' and the bringing of the three Churches to the nearest possible conjunction and uniformity in religion : Secondly, To the

* Stevenson's History of the Church of Scotland.

extirpation of Popery and Prelacy: Thirdly, To the preservation of the rights of Parliament, of the liberties of the Kingdoms, and of his Majesty's person and authority; and lastly, they pledge themselves to personal reformation and a holy life." On the memorable 13th of October, the Solemn League and Covenant was subscribed in the New Church, Edinburgh, after a "pertinent sermon" by Mr. Robert Douglas, midst a concourse of people, grave and pious, and affected somewhat similarly to the day of the signing of the National Covenant, while eighteen Privy Councillors added to the number. Copies of the document were printed and given to the several Presbyteries to be distributed amongst the members, read on the following Sunday, willingly signed by all, or, to quote the words of Baillie, "with a marvellous unanimity everywhere." Skinner gives an untrue account of the provisions of the Covenant, and the duties which devolved upon its numerous adherents. He says, "By the religion of this Covenant, children were taught to persecute, inform against, and rob their parents, fathers their children, servants their masters, wives their husbands; so that the mutual offices to which men are bound in society were denied to those who differed from them in opinion."* It is almost unnecessary to repudiate such a statement. The provisions of the Covenant, if carried out and recognised, were calculated to promote peace, but, at the same time, those who resolutely

* Skinner's Composing of the Affairs in England.

adhered to it, were determined that the nuisance against which they appealed, should be removed by less peaceable means, if the terms contained in the document were not mutually accepted. Its object was to plant peace; when discord, tyranny, and superstition were laying waste the land, to erect one common altar for the glory of God, and thus destroy factions and party jealousies. The Scottish Commissioners earnestly and affectionately entreated Charles to sign his name to the Covenant, but he signified his willingness to sacrifice his crown and life, rather than leave the religion which he had so long supported. We have already alluded to one special provision—the sending of an army against the King. An army of 18,000 foot, and 3,000 cavalry was speedily formed, and in January, 1644, they crossed the Tweed, reached Newcastle, which they stormed and took with little difficulty. During this time many of the Scottish nobility seemed inclined to identify themselves with the royalist army, which they consequently did. One of the number was the Marquis of Montrose, who had been but recently invested with the title, a man blessed with abilities worthy of a better cause, but heedless of the number slain or the blood shed, if he but had his wishes realized. “Many of his actions,” says Scott, “arose more from the dictates of private revenge, than became his nobler qualities.”* The sudden change which Montrose made, has not been fully accounted for. As all are aware, he was one of the principal promoters of

* Scott's Tales of a Grandfather.

the National Covenant, and is spoken of in February, 1639, as going about and causing all to sign it, and raising money for the good of the Presbyterian cause. Pride, ambition, and envy have been the small sins attributed to him, which may in some measure account for his speedy transition from the ranks of Presbyterianism into those of Popery and Prelacy. He gained many victories over the covenanting forces, and to some extent annoyed them, but, as Chambers wisely remarks, "Montrose only distressed his country, he did not conquer or convert it to loyalty. He never accomplished any solid or permanent advantage, but was as much the mere guerilla at the last as at the first." The character of Montrose seems to be a disputed point. Some hold him up as a specimen of bravery and manliness, while others as emphatically denounce him as a vile miscreant. We must confess, while admitting his personal abilities as a man of genius and a scholar, we have a predilection in favour of the latter belief. On the 13th of September, 1645, he was totally defeated, and subsequently left England for the Continent, as a place better adapted to hold in safety his loyal person. The battle of Naseby was destined to be an eventful and decisive one, which overturned the royalist party; and, through ill fortune, brought the royal person of Charles I. to trial and to death. The chief part of the royalist army was headed by Charles himself, having as his remaining leaders Prince Rupert* and Sir

* Rupert was the third Son of Frederick I. of Bohemia, and was born in 1619. Through the extreme misfortune of his father,

Marmaduke Langdale ; while Fairfax, Skipper, Cromwell, and his son-in law Ireton commanded the several battalions of the opposing parties. Nothing seemed to impede their progress as they hurried through the ranks of their adversaries, mighty courage was mutually displayed, while Charles in all his movements evinced a resolute spirit, and showed he was endowed with no small amount of military skill.* These good qualities could not prevail against their enemies, for, says Hume, "The regiment was broken." Charles seems to have retained his courage and presence of mind to the last struggle, for while the other Generals were inclined to withdraw from the fight, he is reported to have said—"One charge more and we recover the day." That charge never took place, however, and Charles was likewise compelled to leave the field. The Parliamentary army contrived to secure 4,500 prisoners, officers and private men ; and what would subsequently more materially assist them, artillery and ammunition.† Unfortunately the King lost his private cabinet of

Rupert became an exile at the commencement of the Civil Wars in England, and offered himself to his uncle King Charles I. of England, particularly distinguishing himself at the battles of Edgehill in 1642, and Chalgrave Field in 1643. The disastrous result of the battle of Naseby was partially owing to his impetuous nature, and the hasty and imprudent manner in which he commanded his troops. Rupert's subsequent conduct caused Charles to dismiss him from the army. He went abroad, and returned to England at the restoration. During the war with Holland in 1673 he was made Admiral of the fleet. In 1679 he was created a member of the newly found Privy Council. During his life he gave himself up to scientific studies, which were not altogether unproductive of good. He died in London in 1682.

* D'Aubigne's Protector.

† Hume's History of England, and D'Aubigne's Protector.

papers, &c., consisting chiefly of letters to the Queen. They were carried to and scrutinized carefully by his lynx-eyed persecutors, who found a considerable amount of condemnatory matter which they afterwards ordered to be published under the significant title of "The King's Cabinet opened." Hume accuses the Government of selecting (to suit their own ends) the worst specimens of his letters; but it matters not what the prejudiced historian considers the letters to signify, suffice it to say, that these disclosures entirely ruined Charles in the minds of his people. Charles was subsequently seized, but contrived to escape from his captivity, and flee to friendly shelter in the Isle of Wight. His accusers, however, soon secured him, and on the 19th January, 1649, he was brought before the High Court of Justice, found guilty, and sentenced to be executed. On the 20th of the month, Charles's sentence was carried into effect. The greatest sympathy prevailed in Scotland, on account of the death of Charles. "The execution of the king," says Chambers, "among its other bad effects, put enmity between the ruling powers of Scotland and England."

From 1649 till the death of Cromwell, that personage was viewed as the right and lawful ruler of England, Scotland, and Ireland, but when in 1658 he died, Charles II. was restored to the throne (chiefly through the interposition of General Monk) in 1660.* Another man of ancient and honourable descent, was destined,

* Macaulay's History of England and Ibid.

some twenty years after the death of Montrose, to add fuel to the flame of Scottish troubles. We allude to John Grahame of Claverhouse, subsequently created Viscount Dundee, infamous for his injustice and cruelty. Regarding his appearance, Napier says, "In a little more than twenty years after the death of Montrose, another Grahame, head of an ancient branch of the noble house, entered upon the Scottish troubles, and became, for a brief space, conspicuous in the rapidly shifting scenes that ensued."* Prior to the introduction of Claverhouse upon the scene, it had been a habit of the Covenanters to hold field conventicles, but between 1663-64 the Parliament issued an order strictly forbidding Presbyterians to assemble in such a manner for religious purposes, and commanded also the "doors of meeting-houses to be shut, or guarded by soldiers, and imposing upon delinquents, for the first fault a fine; for the second, imprisonment; and for the third, banishment—that punishment might at length restrain those whom clemency could not gain;" and in the suppression of these field conventicles, Claverhouse acted an important part. This order did not, however, receive much attention from the zealous Presbyterians, who met for the same "seditious purposes," as the Government so termed it. In 1670 the Privy Council had no small duty to perform in raising the fines from parties caught in the act, in accordance with the first part of the proclamation previously referred to.

* Napier's *Life and Times of Dundee*, vol. i., p. i.

Kirkton states that field conventicles were the order of the day, except in towns where meeting-houses were provided for the celebration of religious ordinances.* In field meetings, greater interest and enthusiasm was manifested, as the frequently vast assemblages listened to the quaint haranguings of the preachers, and ready with sword, however, to fight for Christ's Crown and Covenant. "On the whole," says Scott, "the idea of repelling force by force, and defending themselves against the attacks of the soldiers and others who assaulted them, when employed in divine worship, began to become more general among the harassed non-conformists."† Engagements had frequently taken place, in most of which the Covenanters were defeated, and suffered extensive losses. The engagement at Pentland and Rullion Green, in which so many were slaughtered, taken prisoners, and subsequently executed, tended to damp the spirits of the religious enthusiasts. At the battle of Drumclog (one of the bloodiest strifes in which they were ever engaged), they gained a victory which partially made up for the numerous defeats which they had but recently sustained, and caused them to banish the little timidity which had been attendant on the same. Claverhouse had received orders to suppress conventicles and secure the Presbyterians who patronised them, and he carried out his instructions to the letter. He was destined, at the head of his army, to overturn completely

* Kirkton's History. † Tales of a Grandfather.

the victory gained by the Covenanters at Drumclog, by routing them at Bothwell Bridge. He was one who could not treat indifferently a defeat, and consequently he performed his offices with an enthusiasm and harshness which he had never before fully displayed.

On the 12th February, 1687, a proclamation was issued to the effect, that "moderate" Presbyterians would be permitted to hear the "indulged Ministers," but field meetings "should be prosecuted with the utmost rigour of the law." On the 28th June an order proclaimed that all should be allowed to worship God according to their principles and custom, in any house, &c., but this privilege the Parliament restricted, for we find "a third was emitted October 5th, that all preachers and hearers at any meetings in the open fields should be prosecuted with the utmost severity which the law would allow; that all dissenting Ministers who preach in houses should teach nothing that should alienate the hearts of the people from the Government; and that the Privy Councillors, Sheriffs, &c., &c., should be acquainted with the place set apart for their preaching."* These proclamations were not regarded by the Covenanters, who chose their own mode of procedure in religious matters. These field meetings having been held as formerly, Claverhouse was sent to suppress them, and truly used or abused the authority granted him, in many cases, evincing the most consummate brutality which has ever been the lot of historian to record.

* Scots Worthies, p. 525.

For the sake of continuity, we have sketched the history of the Solemn League and Covenant, at the same time endeavouring to give as lucid an explanation as possible of the motives which led to its origin; and have endeavoured to relate the hardships and privations to which those who fought for Christ's Crown and Covenant were exposed. We may be blamed for being so tardy in relating to what extent, and in what manner, the "killing times" of the Stuarts affected the town of Moffat, and its renowned vale. It shall be our duty now, in as concise a manner as the subject will permit of, to narrate in what manner the movements of the persecuted Presbyterians affected Moffat, promising at the same time, that our readers will be surprised to find that this place, chiefly celebrated for its mineral wells, held a prominent part in the times of the Covenant, and its mountain fastnesses gave frequent shelter to its adherents. To do this, we must go back from where we ended in 1687, instead of continuing the narrative at the present time further.

Moffatdale throngs with traditions of the Covenanters, and an absolute hatred is still manifested by some of the more antiquated members of the community to Claverhouse, the ready executor of all those severities ordered to be inflicted on the Presbyterians by the Privy Council. One prevalent superstition in olden times was, that he had some secret communication with the Evil One, who took a paternal interest in his prosperity, and kept him secure against the attacks of his enemies, by no means few. The Covenanters affirmed that he

performed wondrous deeds on his famous black charger while in pursuit of his prey. "It is even yet believed," says Scott, "that mounted on his horse, Claverhouse (or Clavers, as he is popularly called) once turned a hare on the mountain named Brandlaw, at the head of Moffatdale, where no other horse could have kept its feet."* Claverhouse was sent into Dumfriesshire for the purpose of breaking up field meetings, and securing the Covenanters, "all of whom are seditiously disposed," and we learn from his own letters, addressed to his commanders, that he spared neither labour nor time to obey his orders in the Annandale district.† We give one letter of his sent to his superior, dated from Moffat, which explains his movements :—

"For the Earl of Linlithgow,
Commander-in-Chief of His Majesty's Forces.

Moffat, December 28th, 1678.

My Lord,—I came here last night with the troops and am just going to Dumfries, where I resolve to quarter the whole troop. I have not heard anything of the dragoons, though it be now about nine o'clock, and they should have been here last night according to your lordship's orders. I suppose they must have taken some other route. I am informed since I came that this country has been very loose. On Tuesday was eight-days, and Sunday, there were great field conventicles just by here, with great contempt of the regular clergy, who complain extremely when I tell them I have no orders to apprehend anybody for past misdemeanours; and besides that, all the particular orders I have, being contained in that order of quartering, every place where we quarter must see them, which

* Tales of a Grandfather.

† Napier's Memoirs of Viscount Dundee.

makes them fear the less. I am informed, the most convenient places for quartering the dragoons will be Moffat, Lochmaben, and Annan, whereby the whole country may be kept in awe. Besides that, my Lord, they tell me that the end of the Bridge of Dumfries is in Galway, and that they may hold conventicles at our nose, [and] we not dare to dissipate them, seeing our orders confine us to Dumfries and Annandale. Such an insult would not please me. And on the other hand, I am unwilling to exceed orders; so that I expect orders from your Lordship how to carry in such cases, &c., &c.”*

Again, writing to Linlithgow from Dumfries in 1679, he mentions that one Captain Inglis had evidently made a mistake regarding the most suitable places to station the troops, Moffat and Annan having been assigned by Claverhouse, whereas, Lochmaben and Annan were the places where Inglis understood they were to be quartered. The troopers were in the habit of sleeping, eating, and drinking off the bounty of the inhabitants of Moffat, who, it was reported soon after, had resolved on complaining to the Council anent the unjust proceedings of the soldiers. Claverhouse, writing to Linlithgow on this subject, begs of him to take no heed of the “silly” complaint lodged by the Moffatians, until he has made enquiries concerning the complaint made, and the mode of procedure adopted by his men to obtain such things as they required during their visits. Whether his enquiries resulted in confirmation of previously made statements, or the removal of the burden against which the people made just complaint, we are not in a position to state. Claverhouse, again

* Napier's Memoirs of Dundee.

writing to Queensberry from Moffat, on the 17th April, 1682, says—"My Lord, all things here are as I would wish, in perfect peace and very regular." We can scarcely see how Clavers could give such a favourable and unprejudiced report of the state and condition of Moffat: its absolute untruth is the most glaring point in it. At this very period, there was an eccentric but piously inclined man, who zealously wrought for the extension of the Covenanters' principles, and the increase of the body who enthusiastically defended the Covenant, to which they resolutely adhered. William Moffat, who dwelt in the mountainous and inhospitable regions of Hartfell, in the vicinity of Moffat, had long been held in repute, as irreproachable in moral character, as blameless for his enthusiasm, energetic in the cause for which he fought, and an invaluable service to the Presbyterian army. He started Conventicles, and soon drew around him a crowd of devout worshippers, who heard with pleasure the quaint eloquence of their voluntary pastor. During the reign of Charles II, a part of Hartfell became, for many months, the sheltered habitation of the Covenanters of Moffatdale, who were terrified to expose themselves to still greater hardships, knowing full well that the eagle-eye of Claverhouse would soon be upon them if they ventured to leave their seclusion. "To that desolate and unfrequented region," says Hogg, "did the shattered remains of the routed fugitives from the field of Bothwell Bridge, as well as the broken and persecuted Whigs from all the Western districts, ultimately flee as to their last refuge. From

the midst of that inhospitable wilderness, from those dark morasses and unfrequented caverns, the prayers of the persecuted race nightly arose to the throne of the Almighty, prayers, as all testified who heard them, fraught with the most simple pathos, as well as bold and vehement sublimity. In the solemn gloom of the evening, after the last ray of day had disappeared, and again in the morning, before the ruddy streaks began to paint the east—yea, often at the deepest hours of midnight, songs of praise were sung to that Being under whose fatherly chastisement they were patiently suffering. These hymns, always chanted with ardour and wild melody, and borne afar off on the light breezes of twilight, were often heard at a great distance, causing no little consternation to the remote dwellers of that mountain region.”* During their imprisonment—for such in truth it was—they suffered the greatest privation and misery. Mr. Keddie informs us that at night they sallied forth from their shelter to obtain food, which they received from the friendly tenants of Bodsbeck down the vale, and whom, says he, “they not unfrequently requited by working for them while they slept.”† One day William Moffat had a conventicle in close proximity to his place of dwelling. Though engaged in their devotions they were not incapable of perceiving that the lambkins, peacefully grazing close by, from some unknown cause were being gradually

* Hogg’s Brownie of Brodsbeck.

† Moffat—Its Walks and Wells.

driven closer to them. Moffat noticing this, with an eye accustomed to peril, said, "We are in danger, these sheep are not scattered without a cause;" and he spoke truly. A party of dragoons, who had evidently, on seeing the covenanters, diverged from the road along which they were travelling, were coming in a black mass towards them. To resist was an idea which could not for a moment be entertained, for neither in arms nor numbers were they sufficient to maintain their position; and to flee was equally absurd, as the fleet horses of their persecutors could soon overtake them. It has ever been admitted that God takes a particular care in the preservation of his chosen followers, and this was in the present instance verified. They were providentially protected by the gloomy mist coming down on the mountain upon which they had assembled. The dragoons rode on, outwitted by the misty curtain which had enveloped those whom they sought, and thus Moffat and his brethren, from this sudden freak of nature, eluded their grasp.* At another time he was exposed to still greater danger. He was pursued by dragoons, and fled for safety towards Evan Water, to conceal himself in the woods. While he hurried on, his eye fortunately fell on a small cavern conveniently situated, to which he hurried and secreted himself. The soldiers, as formerly, did not perceive him, as he lay comfortably concealed in the secluded recess. The Laird of Buccleuch noticed the eccentric movements of

* Gleanings from the Mountains.

this curious man, and consequently hastened to congratulate him on the clever escape which he had effected. But the friendly intentions of the worthy Laird did little or no good to him, for the dragoons noticed them conversing together, and speedily retraced their steps, intent upon his capture. Moffat again took to the mountains in the direction of Elvanfoot, when he hid himself in the heather, and thus, for the third time, contrived to escape from his persecutors.*

During these troublous times, the people of Moffat manifested a dislike to the curate, and considered his services of no further use. They accordingly secured the services of one Harkness to acquaint the curate of the feeling displayed by them, and to request his speedy and peaceable removal from the parish. The curate, somewhat astonished at the information which he received from Harkness, after much reflection intimated his willingness to comply with the request of the people. The following passage regarding the curates may in some measure mitigate their audacity:—"When the curates entered the pulpit, it was by an order of the bishop, without any call from, yea, contrary to the inclinations of the people. Their personal character was black, and no wonder their entertainment was coarse and cold. In some places they were welcomed with tears in abundance, and entreaties to be gone; in others, with reasonings and arguments which

* Gleanings from the Mountains.

confounded them : and some entertained with threats, affronts, and indignities, too many here to be repeated. The bell's tongue in some places was stolen away, that the parishoners might have an excuse for not coming to church. The doors of the churches in other places were barricaded, and they made to enter by the window literally. The laxer of the gentry easily engaged them to join in their drinking cobals, which with all iniquity did now fearfully abound, and sadly exposed them. And in some places the people, fretted with the dismal change, gathered together, violently opposed their settlement, and received them with showers of stones. This was not indeed the practice of the religious and more judicious—such irregularities were committed by the more ignorant vulgar ; yet they were so many evidences of the regard which they were like to have from the body of their parishoners. Such as were really serious mourned in secret as doves in the valleys, and from principle could never countenance them, and others dealt with them as had been said. The longer they continued, and the better they were known, the more they were loathed for their dreadful immoralities.”*

James Douglas, a colonel of a regiment, evinced, in his treatment of one John Hunter, brutality which could alone have been expected to be seen in his superior, Claverhouse. Hunter was accompanied by one Welsh, who was desirous of evacuating his peaceful homestead, fearing that Douglas might pay him a visit,

* Wodrow's History.

and they fled to the shelter of the mountains, in the vicinity of Corehead, near Annan Water. Douglas saw them, and noticing the path taken by the fugitives, pursued them, and ultimately overtook the terrified runaways. Perceiving they had been noticed by the dragoons, they hurried to a place termed the "Straught Steep," trusting that its steepness would render further pursuit useless. But they were fired at by the dragoons, and Hunter fell amongst the stones to bleed his life away.*

There is a place termed Dobb's Linn, in Moffatdale, spoken of as being the retreat of the Covenanters of the district, and where two of them had an encounter, says tradition, with the "Foul Fiend," as Scott styles him. In this place Halbert Dobson and David Dun made a cavern, to which they could flee in those times of persecution. Having once retreated to this cavern, they thought into

" — the dark recesses of the cave
The serpent came."

How appropriate would the words of Crabbe have been, had they been uttered by them in their precarious situation.

"But who is this, thought they—a demon vile,
With wicked meaning, and a vulgar style."

Infuriated at the intrusion, they proceeded to make an onslaught upon him, with no less an article than their Bibles. This tale is preserved in the following rhyme:—

* Gleanings from the Mountains.

" Little kend the wirrikow
 What the Covenant would dow !
 What o' faith, an' what o' fen,
 What o' might, an' what o' men ;
 Or he had never shown his face,
 His reekit rags, and riven taes,
 To men o' mak, an' men o' mense,
 Men o' grace, an' men o' sense ;
 For Hab Dab an' Davie Din
 Dang the Deil owre Dobb's Linn.
 Weir, quo' he, an' weir, quo' he,
 Haud the Bible till his e'e ;
 Ding him owre or thrash him down,
 He's a fause deceitfu' loon !—
 Then he owre him an' he owre him,
 He owre him an' he owre him,
 Habby held him griff an' grim,
 Davie threush him liff an' limb ;
 Till, like a bunch o' barkit skins,
 Down flew Satan owre the linns !"^{*}

While stating that this rhyme gave Burns some idea how to write his "Address to the Deil," Sir Walter Scott says—"It cannot be matter of wonder to anyone at all acquainted with human nature, that superstition should have aggravated by its horrors, the apprehensions to which men of enthusiastic character were disposed, by the gloomy haunts to which they had fled for refuge."[†] Thus have we narrated, in as brief a manner as possible, the doings of the Covenanters of Moffatdale. To what extent we have succeeded remains to be determined by the reader, though we have the self-consciousness of not having done justice to such a prolific and soul-inspiring theme.

^{*} Minstrelsy of the Scottish Border, vol. ii.

[†] Note to Old Mortality.

CHAPTER VII.

Mineral Wells.—Sulphurous Spring—Its Analysts, Mackaile, Sir Robert Sibbald, Thomas Garnett, Dr. T. Thomson, Dr. Macadam, D. Murray Thomson, with remarks on the Analyses—Early influence of the Well on the general aspect of the Town—Its Visitors.

HAVING already made reference to the discovery of the principal well, we shall now briefly sketch its history from that date to the present time, noticing the numerous analyses which have been effected, with remarks on the opinions expressed in the reports of the respective analysts above mentioned. Although not much resorted to, it was not long till its peculiarities and curative powers attracted the attention of the Faculty, for we find one Matthew Mackaile, an Edinburgh physician, in a curious little work,* giving a description of the well, its ingredients, and therapeutic effects. In 1677, Mackaile continued his description in a smaller work of less pretensions;† and Sir Robert Sibbald, in 1684, gave illustrations of the cures effected by the drinking of the waters, which tended to

* "*Fons Moffetensis : seu Descriptio, Topographico-Spagyrica, Fontium Mineralium Moffetensium in Annandia Scotiæ.*"

† *Macis Macerata.*

bring it into greater repute ultimately, and gave the people greater confidence in it.* Since then the analyses have been numerous, all, or nearly all of which in some important point vary. In the year 1797, Dr. Thomas Garnett, Professor of Natural Philosophy and Chemistry in the Royal Institution of Great Britain, during a visit to Moffat, made an analysis of the spring, taking a wine gallon of mineral water for the purpose, but which analysis, since Drs. Thomson and Macadam's, cannot be fully relied upon. We append Garnett's analysis :—

IN ONE IMPERIAL GALLON.

" Muriate of Soda (Common Salt), . . .	36	grains.
Sulphuretted Hydrogen,	10	} cubic inches.
Azatic Gas (Nitrogen),	4	
Carbonic Acid Gas,	5	

N.B.—This water will become useless if kept. Its efficacy has been proved in scorbutic or scrofulous cases"†

Dr. Thomas Thomson, Professor of Chemistry in the University of Glasgow in 1823, made an analysis which immediately destroyed the favourable effect of the previous analysis in the minds of the people.‡ Dr. Macadam, one of the latest analysts, points out the difference betwixt Thomson's analysis and that of Garnett's, made twenty-six years before. The following is Thomson's :—

* Scotia Illustrata.

† Garnett's Tour thro' Scotland; and Observations on Moffat and its Mineral Wells, 1800.

‡ Vide The Glasgow Medical Journal for 1828, or the Encyclopædia of Practical Medicine.

IN ONE IMPERIAL GALLON

"Sulphuretted Hydrogen, . . .	21·290	cubic inches.
Common Salt,	176·569	} Grains.
Sulphate of Soda,	16·562	
Sulphate of Lime,	11·579	
Sulphate of Magnesia, . . .	5·474	
Total,		210·184 "

Dr. Macadam accounts for his report being at variance with others in the following :—"It is now many years since the experiments of Dr. Thomson were made. It is conceivable that the waters may be somewhat different in nature and composition from what they were at the period of his examination. This at all events is certain, that Analytical Chemistry has since then made great advances, and that our instrumental means of inquiry have been most materially improved." Through the kindness of Messrs. Blackie & Sons, publishers, we are enabled to give Macadam's Analysis.* Macadam not only differs from the opinions of other medical men in his analysis regarding the water itself, but also in the smell which arises from it, and which, in a few cases, causes parties to refrain from drinking it, even in pursuit of health. Dr. Garnett said it had a "strong smell, resembling bilge-water or the scourings of a foul gun," while Macadam states it is more like the smell of a "slightly putrescent egg," which our individual experience has taught us. On account of a bog being at one time in close proximity to the well, it was believed that in conjunction with the pyrites in

* *Vide Appendix D.*

the greywacke, from which species of rock the water oozes out, this was the origin of the sulphurous impregnation of the Moffat water. But this has, by Dr. Macadam, been cast aside as a ridiculous surmise, because the bog is gone, and still there is no perceptible diminution of the mineral water. The rocks surrounding the well have been declared upon examination to contain sulphur to a great extent, "in the form of iron pyrites or bis-sulphuret of iron," and the rock from which the mineral stream proceeds, according to Macadam's report, contains to some extent the same ingredient. The fact of parties being attracted from all parts of the United Kingdom to this well, proves the efficacy of the mineral stream; and since many have testified to their having received material good from it, we need not attempt (we could not though we would) to detract from the fame of Moffat, emphatically styled the "Cheltenham of Scotland," by ignoring the prevalent belief embodied in medical reports, that the drinking of this water is attended by a therapeutic effect. It is a matter of some difficulty to determine the numbers at different dates drawn by the well to Moffat, as we have not had the means of ascertaining put in our way. It cannot, however, be said that the numbers were similar year by year. It has been foolishly asserted that in 1679, twenty years after the publication of Mackaile's first treatise, Moffat became a place of note. "It is probable," says one writer, "these early visitors were nearly all people afflicted with some real ailment; but by-and-by it

became a place of fashionable resort, without any special reference to the mere matter of health."* Instead of "nearly all," we feel certain *all* were at this period drawn to Moffat like the invalid to the physician; and that a much greater space of time elapsed ere it became a place of retreat for the fashionable. Of this we shall speak in another chapter in relation to the progress of the town. †

* Moffat in 1870.

† For the latest analysis of the wells—that of Dr. Murray Thomson, Edinburgh—see "Black's Guide to Moffat."

CHAPTER VIII.

Burghs of Barony and Regality.—Dr. Whitefurde.—Charter of 1662.—Ratification of 1669.—The Burgh's Boundaries.—Mr. Johnstone's Charter of 1839.—Burgh Rights—The Common-lands and their Division—The Douglas Acre, and Market Place—The Ancient Meal-house—The Magistrates—Remarks on certain illegal acts.

WE now come to the period at which Moffat is seen in a more important light. At an early date it had been customary to divide the lands of Scotland into what was called royalty and regality. The right of regalities, according to Chalmers, commenced during the reign of Alexander I., the Bishops and Abbots having full power to hold courts "within their own lands, and were freed from the authority of other jurisdictions." These jurisdictions of the clergy, however, soon became the property of the Barons, who had earnestly longed for possession of them.* We find Moffat in the position of a burgh of barony and regality about the year 1635, situated within a large barony and regality, termed the barony and regality of Moffat. Dr. Whitefurde, regarding whom we have already spoken, was then denominated Superior, having as his

* Chalmers' Caledonia, vol. i.

right the full administration of affairs within his own lands; and we find him in 1638, granting to one Janet Porteous, a confirmation of an order regarding land previously given. The Burgh Charter to Moffat, still extant, of date 1662, and which we shall presently quote at length, is not in reality its first, as often supposed, being but a transfer to James, Earl of Annandale, of two things which formerly existed—the barony and regality of Moffat, and the burgh of Moffat which stood within it. The following is a translation of those parts of the Charter of 1662, which specially refer to the town:—

[TRANSLATION.]

“Charles, by the grace of God, &c., to all good men of his whole land, clerical and lay, greeting, know that we . . . have granted to our beloved kinsman and counsellor, James, Earl of Annandale and Hartfell, Viscount of Annand, Lord Johnstone of Lochwood, Lochmaben, Moffatdale, and Evandale, and to his heirs male lawfully begotten, or to be begotten of his body, whom failing the heirs female without division begotten hitherto, or to be begotten of the body of the said James and to the heirs male lawfully to be begotten of the body of the said eldest female heir, bearing the name and arms of Johnstone, which they shall be bound to assume, whom failing, to the nearest heirs and assignees of the said James, whomsoever heritably irredeemable,

all and whole the ten pound land of Moffat, with the mill, mill-lands, manor burn, with the woods, fishings, tenants, tenendaries, and services of free tenants, past pendicles and pertinents of the same, together with the advowson, donation, and right of patronage of the church and chaplanries of the same, lying within the lordship and regality of Dalkeith, and Sheriffdom of Dumfries. All and whole that acre of land at the end of the said town of Moffat, called Douglas Aiker, together with the privilege and liberty of regality within the bounds of the said lands, together also with the privilege of holding **m**arkets weekly on Friday within the said town, and two fairs in the year within the said burgh and bounds of the same, one of them on the eighteenth day of the month of June, during the space of two days in succession, and the other of them on the second day of the month of September, with the power of uplifting and receiving the customs and dues of the said markets and fairs, and to apply the same to the use of the said burgh, lying within the barony of Moffetdail,

Reddendo Clause. And moreover, we of new give to the said James and heirs the lands, lordships, barronies, above mentioned And we moreover, understanding that it is more expedient that a burgh and town be built and erected within some part and place of the said lands, lordships, and barronies, where the same may be most conveniently had, and where its situation may furnish the greatest

easement and advantage to our lieges, therefore, for policy, to be had and exercised within the said town and burgh, so to be founded and erected as follows, and for the further easement and good of our lieges, and also for other causes and considerations moving us, we, of our royal authority and royal power, have created and erected . . . in favour of the said James, Earl of Annandale, &c., and his heirs and assignees aforesaid, the town and territory commonly called Moffat into one free burgh of barony and regality within the foresaid bounds, to be called in all time coming, the burgh of barony and regality of Moffat, with all the tenements, acres, cottages, houses, buildings, gardens, tofts, and other pertinents within the bounds and territory of the same, that shall be assigned and destined to the same of our said kinsman and Counsellour, James, Earl of Annandale, &c., and his foresaids, and have given them the full power of chosing, creating, admitting, and imputting yearly bailies (one or more) within the foresaid burgh ; with all and every other free burgesses, clerks, serjeants, adjudicators, and all other members necessary for the administration and government of the said burgh in all time coming, with power to them of erecting a market cross within the said burgh ; and we give and grant to the said burgh of barony and regality erected and built, or to be erected, as has been said, and to the inhabitants of the same, the whole liberties and privileges belonging to a burgh of barony and regality in like manner, and as freely as any burgh of

barony and regality has and enjoys the aforesaid within the said Kingdom of Scotland. And we will and ordain that all proclamations, executions, indorsations of horning, inhibitions, and apprisings and other executions whatever, within the said bounds and regality above specified, used or to be used within any burgh of this our kingdom, shall be used at the market cross of our said burgh of Moffat in all time coming. And also we for the greater advantage and emolument of the said burgh, and for the increase of the revenue of the said burgh have granted, to our foresaid kinsman and counsellour, James, Earl of Annandale and Hartfell, and to his foresaids, a market day to be held weekly on Friday within the said burgh, together with four fairs yearly ; whereof the first on the eighteenth day of the month of June, the second on the eighteenth day of the month of July, the third on the second day of September, and the fourth on the ninth day of October, yearly ; with as ample privileges, liberties, profits, and immunities of free fairs and markets, as any other burgh of barony and regality within our Kingdom of Scotland has and enjoys, with all the customs and dues of the said fairs and markets, and all other privileges and liberties belonging to the same, according to the laws and customs of this our kingdom of Scotland Paying yearly for all and whole the said ten pound land of Moffat, with the mill, mill lands and pertinents of the same foresaid ; all and whole the ten pound land of Gran-

town, with the pertinents, together with the advowson, donation, and right of patronage of the churches and chaplainries of the same lying as is foresaid; all and whole the said acre of land, lying at the end of the said town of Moffat, with the pertinents, called Douglas Aiker, with the privilege of regality, and of holding fairs and markets within the bounds of the same, in the manner above written, only one penny of the money of this Kingdom of Scotland upon the soil of the said lands of the burgh of barony and regality, or any part of the same, if asked. . . . In witness of which thing we have commanded our great seal to be affixed to this our present Charter. . . . At our Palace of Whythall, the third day of the month of April, in the year of our Lord, One Thousand Six Hundred and Sixty-two; and of our reign the fourteenth year."

This Charter, as if to make things doubly sure, was ratified by an Act of Parliament in favour of James, Earl of Annandale, in 1669. To illustrate the illegality of subsequent proceedings, we may state that that Act is still in force. The wording of the Ratification is similar in effect to that of the Charter, with the following slight variation. After stating that Moffat is already created a Burgh of Barony, &c., it goes on to say, "with the haill lands, tennements, aikers, cottages, houses, bigings, yeards, tofts, crofts, and other pertinents, within the bounds and territorie thereof mentioned within the said Charter, and all

lyandit and boundit in manner therein spēit Holden by his Mātie, and his heirs, successors in frie heritage, frie barronie, lordship, and earldome for ever. And altering such of the foresaid lands, barronnies, and others above written, which formerly held waird to ane taxt, waird for payment of the taxt deuties therein spēit for the mariage sua oft as the samen likes, and of the taxt deuties therein spēit for the lands during the tyme of the waird and nonentrie thereof and for relief of the samen with the other privileges and liberties at length mentioned in the said Charter, &c.”* Herein we see Moffat installed into a comparatively comfortable position. It has but now doffed its humbler garb and shaded its lovelier aspect, its lanes and by-paths are indicative of a little bustle, but those deeds which could alone prove its identity and its claims to importance have long slumbered in the musty “and unfrequented storehouse of Archaeology.” It was believed that upon the abolition of the rights of lords of regalties the burgh rights of Moffat were annulled, and the town itself destined no longer to be recognised as a burgh. The following passage, however, contradicts the supposition, as it speaks only of the abolition of the rights of lords of regalties, and makes no mention of the abolition of the burgh rights of Moffat: “That the following jurisdictions, claimed by George, Marquis of Annandale, may be rated at the sum underwritten, viz.—The heritable office of Lordship

* Acts of the Scottish Parliament, vol. vii.

and jurisdiction of the regality of Moffat at the sum of £800 sterling; and the heritable jurisdiction of Stewart of the Stewartry of Annandale at £2200 stg.; total, £3000 sterling.”* This sum was paid to the Marquis on the 20th November, 1748. It is fortunate it was satisfactorily proven that the burgh rights of Moffat were not annulled at the date specified. Through the interposition of some private and influential men, and the efforts of the proprietors of the *Moffat Times* of 1857, by giving proof to that effect, the burgh’s boundaries and common lands were placed on the Ordnance Map. The fact of the burgh’s boundaries, &c., having been thus laid down on the map may appear trivial, or at least be estimated by parties unacquainted with the subject of less importance than it really was. In 1856 it was intended to adopt the General Police and Improvement Act, but was fortunately not done till a subsequent period—1864 (of which we speak elsewhere)—for had it been adopted while it was yet a matter of uncertainty whether or not Moffat was a burgh, it would have been of little or no avail, as it contains “two distinct modes of procedure, one for burghs, and another for towns that are not burghs.”† The Act of Parliament of 1669, ratifying the Charter of 1662, has already been quoted, and being still in force, the rights and privileges of Moffat as a burgh must of necessity exist. To enable a second entail of the Annandale estates to be made, James,

* Acts of Sederunt and Debrett’s Peerage.

† *Moffat Times* of 1857.

Earl of Hopetoun, created trustees for that purpose, who were “invested in the said estates by an instrument of sasine, dated 25th March, 1819.”* A part of that document is the same as a part of the Charter granted to Mr. Hope Johnstone of date 20th December, 1839, and in it all the rights and privileges of Moffat as a burgh exist, preserved in full force.†

To enter into the wide subject of the burgh rights of Moffat would occupy too much space for a work such as this, therefore we shall curtail the information laid at our disposal, and for the present speak of the ancient Common of Moffat. Proprietors of land by Royal grant in or of Moffat had two distinct privileges, first, the exclusive right of the private land conferred by the Charter, and second, a right of pasturage on the public lands or common, to the extent of a specified number of souns of cattle,‡ and controlled by the private possession of land within the “territorio de Moffat,” as referred to in a preceding chapter.¶ This tract of land termed Moffat was divided into two sections—public and private possession, and was in length five miles, while in breadth it measured two. This Common was by the Court of Session ordained to be divided towards the close of 1770, the various proprietors in lieu of their right of pasturage receiving

* Manuscript Correspondence between James Johnstone, Esq., Larchhill, by Moffat, and the Ordnance Survey Officers on the Burgh's Boundaries.

† Ibid.

‡ “Soun”—pasturage for one cow or five sheep.

¶ Moffat Times of 1857.

shares. The Marquis of Annandale, who possessed three-fourths of the adjoining lands and who held the superiority of the whole, received a vast extent of land by the division, while the proprietor of Grantoun became the fortunate possessor of an extensive piece of pasture land. Parties who had gained the right of feu on the adjoining lands from the Marquis, obtained a grant of land varying from five to fifty acres along the old Edinburgh Road, which has since been cultivated and built upon. It is an unaccountably strange fact that this premature disposition of the property invoked the displeasure of not a few of the inhabitants of Moffat upon the head of its principal proprietor—the anger of parties whose former rights to this Common land had been either disregarded or annulled in 1770. In a document from which we have already quoted we find “a tract of ground was reserved undivided for the feuars to turn their cows into during the winter, and for the purpose of a fair-steading on which to show stock.”* This at first appears to have reference to what we have just alluded to. The peculiarity consists, however, in the concluding part of the passage, “of late years the kind superior has this undivided tract wholly in his possession, consisting of about thirty acres.”† This can, in truth, have no connection with the division of ground on the old Edinburgh Road in lieu of former possession. And we fear the writer must have, during his investigation,

* Beatties’ MSS. † Ibid.

been seeing through a mist, and thus blinded, was incapable of discerning the exact features of the case. In those days when every remnant of feudalism has been abolished, and the "good old days of might are gone," we cannot imagine that such enlightened illegality and oppression should be committed and withstood. Nor have we such a low estimation of that dignified superiority which has ever been the characteristic feature of our history, as to endorse those sentiments which visibly unfold the grave characters of injustice and oppression. These thirty acres referred to may have been the original property of the superior, who, upon the disposition of this common land, in 1770, granted it in loan for the use of the feuars till more ample accommodation was provided, thereby causing it to become a matter of privilege, and not a matter of right to the inhabitants, at the same time reserving his title to dispose of it in future times as he deemed fit.

It will be no small matter of interest, we question not, to those of our readers who are inhabitants of Moffat, to become acquainted with the early incidents of their markets and market-place, both of which are referred to in the Charter of 1662, and in the "Ratification" of 1669, the market-place being denominated as the "Douglas Aiker." In the Charter of 1662, already quoted, we find—"All and whole, that acre of land at the end of the town of Moffat, called Douglas Aiker, with the privilege and liberty of regality within the bounds of the said lands, and privilege of holding markets weekly upon Friday within the said town; and

two fairs in the year, within the said burgh, and bounds thereof." While all the "privileges and liberties at length mentioned within the said Charter," are by the "Ratification" preserved in full force. The situation of the market-place corresponds with subsequent descriptions of the Douglas "Aiker" referred to in the Charter, which, combined with the fact, that there is no other place in Moffat of such appearance as the Douglas Aiker, and that the institution of markets is in the same clause, in fact, joined to the passage with reference to the grant of the "acre of land at the end of the town," gives us the full impression that the old market place and the Douglas Acre are one and the same thing. The following may satisfy our readers as to the position of the Douglas Acre or Market place. In a Charter of feu farm of the old meal-house of Moffat, granted by the then existing Superior, to one John Grahame, of date March 22nd, and May 6th, 1742, written to prevent the forfeiture of the feu by an evident disregard to specified conditions, we find:—"Further that the said John Grahame and his foresaids shall be obliged to furnish ane Meal-house for the use of the publick mercats, in the town of Moffat, in that place where the foresaid Meal-house hereby conveyed is situate." In a disposition of the house next to and east of the old meal-house in question, to one James Beattie, of date 1747, a sketch of the boundaries of the house is given, of which the following is the substance:—"All and hail that big old stone house in the town of Moffat, one end

thereof adjoining the house presently possessed by Jno. Johnston, wigmaker in Moffat ; and to the meal-house and back yeard, and the oyr end thereof fronting to the Mercate street of Moffat." The exact situation of the Moffat Market-Place or Douglas Aiker is herein determined—namely, in front of the two houses of which we have now spoken.

As regards the illegality of certain acts to which in a preceding passage we alluded, the same is manifest in records of the subsequent actions of men in authority, or in other words lairds, or others who held the superiority of Moffat. When it was elevated to the position of a burgh of barony and regality, and by such rendered capable of discarding its rustic guise for one of more cultivated hues and business-like polish, he who received the original grant and a subsequent confirmation of the same—James, Earl of Annandale—had impressed upon him certain ideas, which he was bound to see developed or carried into effect. By no means the least of these duties which he was obliged to perform was the election yearly of bailies to represent the inhabitants, in direct accordance with the specifications of the Charter of 1662, as it invests the holder of the gift with the "full power . . . of choosing, creating, admitting, and imputting yearly bailies (one or more) within the foresaid burgh," the same with the remainent privileges having been confirmed by the "Ratification" of 1669; and though mentioned in the Charter as a "power," it was none the less a duty. In compliance with this enactment, the bailies for many years

were elected, but such manifestations were destined to be mere allurements. The good appearances were vain and idle, and subsequent years saw the election of bailies disregarded. This took place many years prior to the exertions which were made to secure the insertion of the burgh's boundaries in the Ordnance Map (even in the time of Mr. Hope Johnstone) and was put forward as an argument why such notice of the burgh should be taken in correspondences, which took place on the subject at the time. The good of such public officers in such cases is manifest, inasmuch as in the event of the non-election of magistrates, the burgh's boundaries may be neglected and ultimately forgotten, which would not be were suitable men put into office, provided they regarded the interests of parties concerned, and the fulfilment of duties imposed upon them. It matters not upon whom the responsibility of the non-fulfilment of those injunctions to which we have alluded rests, the point for consideration is those actions palpable enough in themselves, which indicated an evident disregard of certain laws, and which for sometime caused dissatisfaction needlessly to prevail amongst those parties, who had a claim upon those in authority for protection, and a right to exact the complete accomplishment of those duties, which were incumbent upon their superiors; by the various enactments referred to. The superiors in former days possessed the properties and derived the complete pecuniary good accruing from them; and while those in inferior positions served them, they were in duty

bound to recognise certain claims, and do all possible for the advancement and improvement of the people within their jurisdictions. Parties who are at the helm of power, even in modern times, and are in high positions, disregard the humble claims and conveniences of a humbler grade, and sometimes trust to their superiority covering the injustice of their actions. Such, we fancy, would be benefited by consulting the splendid sentiment of Tennyson.

“Howe’er it be, it seems to me,
 ’Tis only noble to be good ;
 Kind hearts are more than coronets,
 And simple faith than Norman blood.”

The election of bailies is now recognised in full force, though probably chiefly in keeping with the specifications of the General Police and Improvement Act, however recently adopted, to which we shall presently refer.

CHAPTER IX.

Picture of Moffat in 1704—Its Gradual Development, as shown in 1745—Visitors—Discovery in 1748 of Hartfell Spa—Notice of the discoverer, John Williamson—Various analyses of the Water, with remarks thereon—Houses in the Town owned by the Marquis of Annandale—Building of Moffat House—Picture of Moffat in 1770.—State of the town in 1791, with reference to the Poor.—Moffat as a Market Town—Increase of the Revenue of the Burgh by the Markets—Its Trade—Changes effected by it.

FROM external signs we are apt to suppose that the prosperity of Moffat has ever been fluctuating. At the particular time of which we speak, one year it stands smiling in its peaceful beauty,—every external image indicating its completeness and lack of nothing; while in another, the aeronaut traversing its perfect streets and sunny by-paths may detect the want of that hopeful smile of future glory formerly depicted on its exterior, and in its place behold something which has a decided tendency to impress us with the idea of doubt as to its future power and fame. This is not owing to a diminution of visitors, “invalids with lameness broke,” as far as can be seen. In fact, no reason can be assigned for this combination of seeming poverty and prosperity, save that the gossiping chroniclers to

whom we depend for information regarding the aspect of Moffat at such dates, being of supposed English extraction, had their eyes jaundiced with prejudice to the self-evident beauties of a Scottish town. Judging from a sketch of Moffat in 1704, now before us, as represented by one of those in-embryo historians, we fancy the reader will detect the want of sincerity and truth in the statements of a writer talking of Moffat in 1679, previously quoted, if we are to give credence to the following:—"On the 17th of April, 1704, I got to Moffat. This is a *small straggling town* among high hills, and is the town of their wells. In sumer time people comme here to drink waters, *but what sort of people they are, or where they get lodgings, I can't tell, for I did not like their lodgings well enough to go to bed, but got such as I could to refresh me, and so came away.*"* The Reverend Dr. Alex. Carlyle gives us something illustrative of the gradual development of the town. Writing in 1745, and while speaking of one Dr. Sinclair, he says—"He (Sinclair) and Dr. John Clerk, the great practising physician, had found Moffat waters agree with themselves, and frequented it every season in their turns for a month or six weeks, and by that means drew many of their patients there, which made it be more frequented than it has been of late years, when there is much better accommodation."† Within the period of forty-one years Moffat's comforts

* Extract from an Old Tour through Scotland—*vide* Blackwood's Magazine, vol. ii., 1817-18.

† Autobiography of the Rev. Dr. Alex. Carlyle, Minister of Inveresk, page 110.

had been considerably augmented, and its popularity and prosperity had increased. We have already alluded to the improbability of its having been in early times a place of fashionable retreat, and we fancy the preceding remarks of Dr. Carlyle fully exemplify this. It is absolutely impossible for Moffat to have been resorted to in 1679 by fashionable circles unless desirous of obtaining health and lost vigour through the medium of the mineral wells. In fact, as far as public patronage went at this date, it might almost be spoken of as a *terra incognita*. Even at the more modern period (1745) we find the well the cause in chief, the principal attraction, the "mere matter of health" (as a writer to whom we have casually referred in a former part of this work has been pleased to denominate it), and faith in the curative power of the water drawing people to its friendly shelters, who had felt the evils arising from being "long in populous city pent," or who from other causes needed the combined beneficial influences of the mineral water and the invigorating air to render their state more agreeable.

In 1748 the prosperity of Moffat was somewhat augmented by the discovery of another mineral spring—Hartfell Spa. Its discoverer, John Williamson, was apparently one of the "worthies" of the place. Members of this sect, humorously denominated "worthies," are seen everywhere, and nowhere so abundantly as in provincial towns, and Moffat to all appearance has been inundated by those whose education in deportment and polite manners has not altogether been neglected, and

who scorn at manifesting frankness and candour by openly soliciting alms, but who, from their civilities, eccentricities, and little kindnesses done by them, merit the enviable appellation of "harmless creatures," and assuming the position of pensioners, become the objects of the visitors' charity. The successors of John are, however, not of the same species. They are of a less worthy type. His peculiarities lay in an entirely different direction. At one time his principal amusement consisted in scouring his native hills in pursuit of game, but his feelings were evidently of an exceedingly sensitive cast, and consequently he abandoned the sport for a trick of a more sombre aspect—he determined to encourage no longer the sale of flesh meat by personal consumption, and to make his conclusion worthy of his former and almost unprecedented conduct, he ultimately gave himself up to the absurd belief in the transmigration of souls. John did not long survive the declaration of his discovery, but his name has been perpetuated in a monument erected over his grave in Moffat Churchyard by Sir George Maxwell, the inscription thereon fully explaining his accomplishments—

“ In Memory of Jno. Williamson, who died 1769.

Protector of the Animal Creation,

The Discoverer of Hartfell Spa, 1748:

His life was spent in relieving the distressed.

Erected by his friends, 1775.”

This is certainly a good character, but we scarcely

fancy the discovery of the Hartfell Mineral Spring, if properly viewed, will add much importance to his name. Altogether it may be said that the respect given him after death exceeded the value of the discovery he made. And this becomes more decidedly apparent when we consider that Miss Whitefurde, to whom the prosperity of Moffat is much owing, has been absolutely neglected. In every respect the value of the mineral water which proceeds from the Hartfell spring is over-estimated, but by parties alone who know nothing concerning it, either with regard to its medicinal properties or the particular cases in which it should be applied. Some have had the arrogance, in the face of medical reports, to state, that this water is better than the other, inasmuch as it preserves its medicinal virtues for a great period. And what makes things still worse is the fact that, analysts of former times, such as Garnett, have failed in reality to understand the nature of the waters, for they, too, in a slightly modified manner, corroborated this statement, shown in 1854 by Dr. Macadam to be absurd. Garnett says, "The water of this spring may be kept long without injury to its medicinal powers." This idea having been promulgated by Dr. Garnett, people were struck by it, and accordingly sent it as far as the West Indies, in the vain hope that it would retain its curative powers. Dr. Macadam has, as will presently be shown, proven this statement to be unfounded. The following is Garnett's analysis :—

"Sulphate of Iron (iron vitriol), . . .	84 grains.
Sulphate of Alumina,	12 „
Azotic Gas,	5 cubic inches.

"The water of this spring may be kept long without injury to its medicinal powers. It is a powerful tonic of proved utility in obstinate coughs, stomach complaints affecting the head, gouty ones disordering the internal system, disorders to which the fair sex are liable, internal ulcers, &c." It has been hinted that Dr. Garnett was in a measure indebted to Dr. Johnstone, the then resident physician in Moffat, for his opinions on the uses and powers of the Hartfell water, as the reader will doubtless perceive, by our quoting the statement of the latter. Johnstone says, "I have known many instances of its particular good effects in coughs proceeding from phlegm, spitting of blood, and sweatings, in stomach complaints attended with headaches, giddiness, heartburn, vomiting, indigestion, flatulency, &c.; in gouty complaints affecting the stomach and bowels, and in diseases peculiar to the fair sex. It has likewise been used with great advantages in tettersous complaints and old obstinate ulcers." This, we presume, is too palpable to bear further comment. To allow the reader again to see the difference between the analysis of Drs. Garnett and Thomson, we subjoin that of the latter's:—

Hartfell Spa (challybeate),	{	Protosulphate of Iron, . . .	36·747	} Grains.
		Muriate of Lime (chloride of calcium),	33·098	
Total, . . .			<u>69·845</u>	

The following is Dr. Macadam's analysis :—

Sp.—1·0003.		In 1 Imperial Gallon.
Protosulphate of Iron,	5.96	grains.
Tersulphate of Alumina,	6·43	„
Sulphate of Lime,	4.03	„
Sulphate of Magnesia,	4·72	„
Silicic Acid,	1·87	„
Soda, in combination with Silicic Acid, and loss,	1·05	„
Sulphuric Acid, free,	Traces.	
Total,	<u>24·06 grains.</u>	

He accounts for the dissimilarity in results by saying that “it is most likely referable to differences in our processes than to great alterations in the mineral water.” And now to analyse the capabilities of this water for transmission abroad. Talking of this, Macadam says—“On testing the contents of two bottles out of many of the Spa water, which had been carefully corked and sealed at different periods, varying from three weeks to a month before examination, *not a trace of protosulphate of iron was found present in either.* This was decided on by there being no blue solution formed on adding a solution of red prussiate of potash to the mineral water. This is a ready method for anyone satisfying himself of the value of the water. The bottles of water examined, and in which no iron in the state of protosulphate exists, were handed to Mr. Keddie,* and the author (Dr. Macadam) by Mr. Hetherington, Apothecary in Moffat, and taken by him from his general

* The author of an excellent little work, “Moffat : its Walks and Wells.”

stock of the water as kept on sale, and their contents were tested in his presence. The water was acid to the taste from sulphuric acid, and somewhat astringent from the sulphate of Alumina which is retained in solution, but its chalybeate character was gone. . . .

The permanency of the chalybeate character of the "Hartfell" has therefore been greatly over-rated, and we date the period of its deterioration from the moment of its being collected at the spring."

Though the water of this spring is of little value, still it tended to increase the reputation of Moffat as a watering place. The crushing reports of recent analysts regarding its over-estimated efficacy, and the fact of its extreme distance from the town, caused it to be seldom resorted to. This neglect, however, only commenced some years since, for when Garnett and others proclaimed it to be the panacea for all human ills, it was taken by many, but it failed to effect such "marvellous" cures as its elder sister the sulphurous spring. The almost unsurpassed beauty of the district in which the well is situated attracts numerous visitors, and being in such close proximity to the well, curiosity leads them personally to investigate the strength of the water. The stretch of country seen from the heights of the Hartfell range of mountains is a great inducement to the tourist, who, while gazing on the varied scene lying below and around him, the dark and grim gullies, the foaming cataracts, and the murky and rocky shades of Hartfell, will instinctively give utterance to the lines of Wordsworth—

“Lo! the fields, the dwindled meadows;
What a vast abyss is there!
Lo, the clouds, the solemn shadows,
And the glistenings, heav’nly fair!
And the record of commotion
Which a hundred ridges yield—
Rocks, and gulfs, and distant ocean
Gleaming like a silver shield!”

Let us now look at the position and progress of the town, more especially in the matter of building. However much a visit from the inexorable rent-collector may be dreaded by parties frequently faulty in payment, the visit of the Laird is viewed with almost universal satisfaction, his tenants never considering that he is the cause of the actions of the factor, by them denominated “harsh.” This excitement prevails more in provincial towns; and when the presence of the Laird is made known, many eagerly rush to gain an envied acknowledgment from him. Thus, it is not to be wondered at that, when in 1751 John, Earl of Hopetoun, then the possessor of the Annandale Estates, built for himself a mansion within the town for his occasional residence, the inhabitants were on the *qui vive*, as they naturally supposed that greater interest would be taken in them, from the fact of his occasionally living in their midst. Moffat House—an old-fashioned building, three storeys in height, and built of the stone peculiar to the district—is the property of Mr Hope Johnstone, having descended to him from his mother, Lady Anne, to whom it was bequeathed by the Earl of Hopetoun, her father, who died without male heirs.

Anxious to add importance to the town, some respected natives have claimed the existence of a Castle, or peel-house, on the site of Moffat House. These parties have evidently recognised the danger of meddling with old manuscripts, and considered investigation unnecessary. They have been arrogant enough to affirm that Moffat was at one time 'protected by some rude fortress, but have failed to prove its existence to the satisfaction of the public generally, and we can scarcely fancy to the satisfaction of themselves. Till the building of Moffat House, the ground it occupies was bare, and a view could be obtained from that point, without the obstruction of any building whatever, to the river Annan.

About the year 1768, a number of the dwelling houses in the town, estimated at above a hundred, belonged in property to George, last Marquis of Annandale, and were rented by the inhabitants from him. Those houses for the most part were taken down, while the position they occupied was indicated by its being fenced in, and subsequently built upon, allowing it almost to bear the exact general aspect the town has at present, as far as the principal street (High Street) is concerned. Had a sketch been taken of Moffat exactly a hundred years ago (1771), it would have presented the same features, as regards the main street, as it has at present, with the exception of a bowling green, situated in the centre of the street, which is now *non-est*, having been removed in the year 1827, to make room for the erection of the present set of Baths, opposite which it stood. In 1791, although slight building operations

were commenced, all the houses were inhabited, and it was with difficulty that the necessities of its population regarding accommodation were met, far less the demands of strangers who signified a desire to dwell within its peaceful bowers for a specified period.* At this date, however, there were few who could with impunity be termed "poverty stricken," all appeared to have enough, and to spare, and consequently there were only ten persons who were actually "living on the parish," or in other words receiving alms from the parish funds.

Irrespective of its pastoral beauties, Moffat was well adapted for a market town from its convenient situation, and the arable land of vast dimensions which surrounds it. Hence, shortly after the Charter of 1662 conferred on it the privilege of regality and right of markets to be held within its bounds, we find markets springing into considerable size and repute, and the amount realized from such of no insignificant value. The Charter, in all its aspects, was well planned, inasmuch as every privilege conferred upon the town ultimately became of triple value, not only in the matter of external importance and authority, but likewise in the matter of pecuniary aid. Moffat is emphatically termed the market town of Upper Annandale, the district containing the parishes of Moffat, Wamphray, Kirkpatrick-Juxta, and Johnstone, indicating a population of upwards of 5000. The numbers attracted to the town on agricultural business, of neces-

* Statistical Account of 1791.

sity caused hotel accommodation to be provided, thus supplying proper comforts for visitors. This was a long existing and palpable defect, as, prior to the date we allude to, it had only the small and incommodious Black Bull Inn, rendered famous by Burns inscribing on the window pane of the same the well-known epigram on Miss Davies—

“ Ask why God made the gem so small,
An’ why so huge the granite ?
Because God meant mankind should set
The greater value on it.” *

The reports of customs received from the markets vary, but always to the side which is indicative of increasing prosperity. In 1747 the amount raised by the Marquis of Annandale was £3 3s 6d.† Although this, by denizens of a more important burgh, may be deemed insignificant; still it must be remembered that this ever accumulating fund was bound to prove of service to the administrator of justice within its bounds, or in more modern times the representatives of the inhabitants in raising some existing pecuniary drag upon its welfare.

Trade used its elevating power with regard to Moffat, in this the period of its first speculation and commercial achievement. It was what a Scotchman might term comparatively “brisk,” fifty weavers ever spinning and exporting their manufactures as a fair example of Moffatian industry; while the other branches of trade

* *Vide* M'Dowall's Burns in Dumfriesshire.

† Moffat Times of 1857.

were nobly represented. The prosperity of Moffat was at this time chiefly owing to the exertions of strangers, in the common acceptation of the word. Those strangers with labour and capital introduced right systems upon which to work, and then

“Succeeded next
The birthday of invention ; weak at first,
Dull in design, and clumsy to perform.”

which was destined to put the cope-stone of success on the fabric which they had raised.* Though strangers more particularly merit the praise, still the Moffatians deserve great credit for their share in the concern. But we shall take more special notice of this in the chapter bearing on the opening of the Caledonian Railway.

When we commenced the present work we viewed, as a subject which would give us infinite satisfaction, that which constitutes the remainder of the present chapter—the ecclesiastical establishment of the town.

* Moffat, at the period of which we have been writing, consisted of about ten streets, with many lanes running at stated intervals from them. It must be, however, remembered that those streets were not of the size we generally see, else Moffat would truly have been insignificant. The High Street (then existing as shown), a cheerful and healthy one, measures three hundred yards in length, and forty or fifty in breadth, while the number of lanes and by-ways have considerably increased. The change since then, as will be shown, has indeed been marvellous. The suburbs of the town constitute almost the largest part of Moffat, being perhaps twice or three times as large as Moffat proper. Formerly the houses outside of the town were exceedingly few, and at such distances from it, that one could scarcely claim for them any consistent connection with Moffat, a distinction probably not envied by their respective proprietors, as no doubt they fancied seclusion, and were anxious to keep aloof even from the infantile bustle of the pretty watering place.

But it was a subject which was destined to give slight remuneration for untiring exertions to gain definite ideas of Moffat's position thus viewed. Though unwilling to anathematize the worthy custodiers of those documents which we were anxious to secure and eagerly scrutinize, still we can scarcely refrain from raising our feeble voice against the apparent injustice of consigning documents, important to particular individuals such as ourselves, to rot and ruin, without their services being obtained to unravel the complicated mass of mysteries which are the frequent possessions of the historian. The greatest portion of those documents, which would have materially assisted us in the consideration of such a subject as this, is buried (for such we may truly denominate it) in the hidden recesses of venerable and scholastic institutions, to which access is not readily gained in the prosecution of antiquarian research and inquiry. While —*infandum renovare dolorem*—some years since many valuable documents, bearing specially on this subject, were in a somewhat serious conflagration totally destroyed. These annoyances did not, however, prevent us from gaining information sufficient to give us an idea of the condition of the town, viewed ecclesiastically, though the succeeding pages referring to its religious denominations may more properly be viewed as a summary of events, rather than a continuous narrative from the time we last incidentally referred to its church history, which was during the reign of Charles II., when, with other privileges, he conferred upon the Earl of Annandale the right of patronage of the church

situated within the town, and the "chaplanries" connected with it, as formerly shown. We now purpose tracing the descent of this right down to the present time. The case of George, the last Marquis of Annandale, as hinted in a preceding chapter, had become worthy of the gravest apprehensions. "Can'st thou not minister to a mind diseased?" was a question which doubtless fell from the lips of disconsolate friends, with eagerness as intense as the ideal of Shakespere is supposed to manifest, but was one, alas! which ever received a negative reply. Their grave suspicions were at last sadly realized, and in 1792 George breathed his last. Upon his death the advowson of the Parish Church became the property of the Earl of Hopetoun; and by his death in 1816 the right of presentation was invested in the hands of J. J. Hope Johnstone, Esq. Ere George, the Marquis, "shuffled off this mortal coil," and left his titles to be matter of dispute for his successors in property, his eyes might have fallen on a fabric erected for the worship of God, a substantial ornament to the town, without the high pretensions to architectural beauty which its predecessor possessed, and given as a heritage to the inhabitants of the surrounding district. In 1790 the present Parish Church of Moffat was built, with accommodation for 1000 people. It was not, as might be supposed, erected on the site of the former church; but through the liberality of James, Earl of Hopetoun, it was put down on a piece of his own property 'midst old trees, which materially intensify the solemnity of the scene. One would be

apt to regret this were it not for the fact that a remnant of the sacred edifice, which reared aloft its head in ages passed away, is still visible, an ample illustration of the words of "Delta"—

"How like an image of repose it looks,
That ancient, holy, and sequestered pile ;
Silence abides in each tree-shaded aisle.

* * * * *

On moss-green'd pediments and tombstones gray,
And spectral silence pointeth to decay."

The living of the parish may be thus stated—19 chalders equal parts of meal and barley, and which includes £8 6s. 8d., to meet the expenses necessitated during the communion season, and £89 5s. in money. The Glebe comprises fifteen imperial acres, at present let at £40 per annum, and this, in terms of the lease, will continue for eleven years, but there is reserved for other purposes one acre which surrounds the Manse. When, in 1843, Dr. Archibald Stewart was appointed assistant and successor to the then minister of the parish—Mr. Johnstone—the church was in a comparatively good condition. On the translation of Dr. Stewart to a parish in Galloway, the now respected minister of St. Andrew's, Edinburgh, succeeded him, and by his zeal and Christian efforts kept the church in a flourishing state. The present minister, the Rev. John Gibson M'Vicar, D.D., LL.D., known not only in the ecclesiastical world as an earnest and able expounder of the truth, but also in the field of litera-

ture as a philosophical writer, which entitled him to the honours which have been profusely showered upon him, succeeded to the benefice in 1853, rendered vacant by the appointment of Mr. Stewart to St. Andrew's, Edinburgh.* The efforts of Dr. M'Vicar have been signally rewarded, and the crowded state of the church during the summer months testifies to the high estimation in which he is held alike by his own parishioners and by those who, to gain ease and relaxation, make the town their summer quarters. Byron has said of Time that it "But drags or drives us on to die!" and although it is asserting its influence on the physical condition of the worthy doctor, his present state does not render him incapable of attending to his parochial duties and the fulfilment of the more essential acts of a Christian minister. Our wish and prayer is, that he may be long spared to occupy the position which hitherto he has filled with efficiency.

The United Presbyterian congregation was called into existence somewhere about the end of last century, though the present church, remarkable for its tasteful and elegant architecture and the prominent position which it occupies, was not erected till 1862, causing an expenditure of about £4000.† The following are the names of the respective clergymen who have possessed the living:—

* The number of communicants on the roll is between four and five hundred; and there are seven elders.

† The present church is in Old Well Road, the former was situated in the town.

Rev. H. CAMERON.

„ JNO. MONTEITH.

„ JNO. RIDDELL.

„ WM. HUTTON, present minister.

In all the departments of Christian enterprise, the congregation is nobly represented, and through the efforts of the present pastor the church has not only retained the flushes of prosperity on its countenance, brought into life through the instrumentality of his predecessors, but it has visibly increased year by year; and he deserves much merit for his indefatigable exertions to put the church even in a more prosperous condition, and for his unremitting attention to the interests of his flock.*

The Free Church of Moffat was erected immediately after the Secession of 1843, on a site gifted by Peter Tod, Esq. of Riddings. The cost of the church, including all expenditure for necessary alterations on the fabric, has been estimated at between eight and nine hundred pounds. The Rev. Robert Kinnear, previously minister of Tothorwald, was inducted first minister to the charge in August, 1843; and still holds the benefice in conjunction with the Rev. Kenneth Moody Stewart, A.M., ordained colleague and successor in December, 1868. "In addition to the equal dividend from the

* These statistics were, for the most part, procured from Mr. Hutton, and are not so complete, owing to the absence of the Session Clerk when obtained. The stipend and church membership having from time to time been variable, we were hence rendered incapable of obtaining a definite idea respecting those items, and it has been thought expedient to withhold information relating to them.

Sustentation Fund, there has always been what is called a 'Supplement.'"* Like the United Presbyterian Church, however, the stipend has varied from year to year. The number of communicants is between 360 and 380, and besides this there is a large number of adherents, but there being no seat rents there is no known seatholders. From March, 1870, to March, 1871, the total sum raised for various purposes was the handsome one of £501 19s. 4d. In 1852, a Manse was erected at a cost of £600. At no period of her history was the church in a more flourishing condition. It has two zealous Christian ministers to superintend the administration of affairs; it has its complement of elders to assist them; it has a large number of church members to stand by and encourage them in their labours of love and works of faith; and a large, steadfast, and united congregation, who for any good object readily give their pecuniary aid. In concluding this chapter, we wish for the various religious denominations, a continuance of that prosperity which they have hitherto merited and received.

* Letter of Mr. Kinnear's, of date May 6th, 1871, to the Author.

CHAPTER X.

Opening of the Caledonian Railway—Various benefits derived from it.—Building operations commenced.

WHEN the Caledonian Railway was opened, between 1847-48, Moffat began to breathe with greater ease and freedom, as the surroundings were extended, consequently rendering the town less confined. What we shewed in a note in the preceding chapter as Moffat prior to 1848 was entirely remodelled and enlarged. Building operations were commenced with alacrity, and ere long it assumed a more cheerful aspect. Had this movement never been completed, Moffat would, in all probability, not only have retained that wonted peacefulness and repose which has ever rendered it peculiarly attractive, but also its meagre importance and comparatively insignificant appearance, even with its promising looks and slight trade, as formerly shewn. It roused the inhabitants to consciousness, and compelled them to form plans to meet the demands which, in all likelihood, would be made upon them by strangers attracted thither by the conveniences opened up in the district. What objections they had so long put forth in relation to the imperfect means of conveying parties from the metropolis of the east and west, had at length been

fully met, and consequently, by this sudden and unexpected movement, they were thrown upon their own resources, and were compelled in turn to meet the objections advanced by strangers regarding the palpable defect in house accommodation; against which, at a somewhat earlier period, as shewn, an indignant chronicler made an emphatic declaration. Plans, in every respect worthy of the town and its inhabitants, were originated for accommodating visitors, and the change was destined to work a charm for Moffat. Its antique beauty was much impaired by unscrupulous modern workmen; and its former general aspect was alone to be seen at advantage in the "mind's eye," for

"Memory's touch each faded pile renews,
Again they bloom in renovated hues."

A beauty was, however, substituted peculiar to modern times, while the surrounding objects which formerly rendered it so attractive remained entire. It might now with impunity be characterised a retreat for the fashionable, for although at one time it sheltered the *litterati* of the eighteenth century, sufficient evidence has, we fancy, been adduced to show that it did not then merit the title of a "famous resort of the gay." Though Macpherson, while residing in Moffat House,* engaged in writing or translating the Ossianic poems, might have been seen with Boswell, Home, David Hume, and other contemporaries, strutting down the

* This was in 1759. Macpherson was with his pupil, young Graham of Balgoun (Lord Lynedoch), who was with his mother, Lady Christian Graham, sister of Lord Hopetoun's, at whose house (Moffat House) all three were residing.

principal street of the town, or while promenading in the pretty Bowling Green, engrossed in discussing a subject which was the means of commencing a prolonged and keen controversy—the traditional poetry of the Highlands; such must not be considered proof of its gaiety, for they were attracted thither by the surrounding novelties of nature, and to gain that ease and relaxation which their busy literary lives necessitated. It is not unlikely that this movement, which had a decided tendency to meliorate the condition of the town and its inhabitants, may have been by some of the more antiquated members of the community considered more an encroachment than an improvement. These ideas did not long have an influence over them, as they soon saw that the movement itself had indications of success and ultimate good. Their doubts and animadversions were dispelled, and naturally disregarded; the movement went on, was completed, the hopes entertained by its promoters were satisfactorily realized, the objector became the most interested in the concern when convinced of the probability of personal gain; and well may we say with a recent writer, “since that date [1848] its progress [the town’s] has been steady and continued.”* It alike materially affected the external arrangements of the town and the domestic interests of its inhabitants. It opened up proper means of communication to and from towns of greater importance, and rendered the conveyance of goods a matter of comparative ease, thereby

* Moffat in 1870.

ensuring the future success of their then infantine mercantile projects. The good derived from the movement was externally perceptible on the completion of the scheme. It did not wade through long processes of improvement ere it reached the state of perfection at which it aimed. Strangers only desired suitable house accommodation, for Moffat already held within itself suitable conveniences for the invalid and tourist, and the surrounding country, famous for its fertility, yearly produced dainties sufficient to satisfy the epicurean tastes of denizens of more gay and important towns. Whatever fame or popularity Moffat had previously acquired it was by the event in question much augmented. Its beauties, its privileges, its hidden health-restoring influences, were held by strangers of every grade in greater demand. Moffat, prior to 1848, was not devoid of conveniences, even for a mixed class, but parties had few inducements to avail themselves of the opportunities afforded them in relation to summer residence, the means of conveyance being of an order so imperfect and unsuitable. Hence those who frequented Moffat before the Caledonian Railway was opened were parties for the most part suffering from distempers, which their medical advisers considered capable of being cured by the Spa water, and the salubrious and invigorating air.*

* Beattock is the station for Moffat. Omnibuses belonging to the various hotel proprietors in the town meet the several trains, and convey strangers to their respective hotels and lodgings. There is also a large and commodious hotel at Beattock, which, from its proximity to the station, and the attention of its proprietor, has hitherto received a large share of public favour.

CHAPTER XI.

Eminent Men connected with the Town and Parish.—Sir Archibald Johnstone, Lord Warriston—John Loudon Macadam—John Finlay—William Morrison—Rev. John Walker, F.R.S.E.

A MORE pleasing portion of the study of history, or one more apt to remunerate the diligence of the student, can scarcely be conceived than that which gives us a definite idea of the lives, characters, and literary undertakings of those who, from their vast intellectual qualifications, have rendered our country more famous. There is scarcely a district in any country which has not given birth to some subsequently famous man ; and there is scarcely any place destitute of some memento of their former greatness or of their fallen glory. Where men of genius have lived or died we generally find in some secluded spot of the sequestered village churchyard, some tangible evidence of respect and appreciation of talent. In others, however, we sometimes find nothing but a simple rudely-lettered superscription on a rough-hewn stone, which surmounts the resting-places of those who, in the field of science or of art, were when in life duly revered and

esteemed.* Moffat does not lack importance as regards eminent men who, from birth, residence, or similar ties and associations, are intimately connected with it, and are in a work such as this worthy of our notice. It has produced men whom the world has regarded with no common interest and appreciation. It has sheltered others when the winter of years was making sad havoc of the once sprightly, blooming, and vigorous frame; and who had hastened, as to their last refuge, to gain an envied prolongation of life. And its church-yard contains the remains of some eminent men, of whom we are desirous to speak in the present chapter. It cannot but be a matter of delight to consider that Moffat was the birth-place of one of the greatest men who ever raised a voice for religious reform during the agitations which took place in the seventeenth century. Moffat can claim as a native that man who, independent of the calumnies of numerous writers in prose and verse, is worthy of universal admiration, for he it was who framed the most important document connected with liberty of action and freedom of opinion in relation to ecclesiastical matters, which displayed the indignant resentment of the Scottish people to the machinations of a prelatical government. In the succeeding biographical sketches, we must of necessity be brief, even at the expense of neglecting information received from various sources. We cannot now do better than sketch

* The case of William Wordsworth amply illustrates this. The stone over his grave only bears the simple words—"William Wordsworth;" and is destitute of any date whatever.

the life and character of the man to whom we have indirectly referred.

Sir ARCHIRALD JOHNSTONE, Lord Warristoun, was born at Beerholm, two miles below Moffat. The exact date of his birth has not as yet been determined, but he was created an advocate in 1633. About 1637 he is prominently seen in the capacity of an advocate in behalf of the Presbyterians, the public denouncer of their persecutors ; and being one of the few legal advisers of the time favourable to covenanting principles, and from his professional powers, he was their chief confidant, and was cognisant of all their movements. Most of the documents connected with the Covenant, and considered to be the most important relating to the history of our National Church as the firm foundation for all subsequent religious reformatations, were prepared by him and presented to the Privy Council. The interest which he manifested in them caused them to repose much confidence in him, and appoint him to superintend the administration of affairs in Scotland. We have already noticed in the chapter bearing on the history of the Covenant [chap. VI.] that when, in 1641, Charles I. visited Edinburgh he conferred honours and rewards on the Presbyterian leaders, as a means of winning their affection and support, and Johnstone was not exempted from the favoured few ; for we find he was knighted, created a Lord of Session, with £200 per annum as a pension.* To

* Scottish Nation, vol. vi.

shew the numerous and responsible positions which he filled with efficiency during this period of religious trouble and dispute, would occupy too much space, therefore we trust the following abridgement may suffice. It is but natural to expect that one who had so long exerted himself on behalf of the Presbyterians, and who had made strenuous efforts to make their principles more fully acknowledged and supported, should, in 1643, be sent to represent in the estates of Parliament the capital of his native country.* Having had no reason to fear his departure from the cause, he was further honoured by his being in the succeeding year ordained a Parliamentary Commissioner to attend the Assembly of Divines and the English Parliament, in the former of which he acted a prominent part. And now having been imposed with the fulfilment of so many arduous duties of a religious character, he was destined to be elevated in his profession—succeeding, in 1646, Sir Thomas Hope as Lord Advocate—a position which, from his complete knowledge of Scots law, he was well fitted, and in every respect he “magnified the office.” But, in 1660, the first glance of the dark side of the picture of his life is gained. His undisguised predilections in favour of Presbyterianism had not been disregarded by the zealous opponents of the cause which he advocated, and consequently they took harsh measures effectually to stop the practical developement of plans which he had originated, which resulted in his being outlawed in the year above mentioned, on the

* Scots Worthies.

grounds of his supporting the Covenanters. He fled to the Continent, trusting that the storm of wrath would soon blow over, but that action proved a true verification of the old saying, "out of the frying pan into the fire." The conduct of the physicians who ministered to him in his afflictions during his stay on the Continent, cannot be too strongly reprobated. They gradually reduced him to the condition of an imbecile. In 1661 he was condemned to death, and in 1663, executed at the Cross of Edinburgh. Thus ended the career of one which centuries seldom produce; but the confident declaration emitted prior to his execution, indicated his strict adherence to the principles of the Covenant, and assurance of the victory being gained by those whom in every respect he had so long and so ably supported.

JOHN LOUDON MACADAM was born at Ayr on the 21st September, 1756. He was educated at the School of Maybole, and on his father's death, in 1770, he was sent to New York, where he subsequently amassed a considerable fortune in the capacity of agent for the sale of prizes, but which in a series of barren speculations he unfortunately lost. Immediately on his return to his native country he settled down for some time at Dumerieff, near Moffat, of which place we have already spoken. On his appointment as deputy-lieutenant for Ayrshire he removed to Sauchrie, and afterwards to Falmouth, when he was by Government appointment created agent for superintending the proper victualling

of the British Navy in the western ports.* During his tenure of office as a trustee for the Ayrshire Roads, the idea of inventing an economical system for the preservation of highways first entered his mind, and in some secluded spot in England the project was matured, having then studied in a methodical manner the complete process of roadmaking in its most minute and least recognised details. By his accepting the office of Surveyor-General of the Bristol Roads in 1815, he was enabled practically to illustrate the magnitude of his scheme, which led, in 1823, to his being summoned before the House of Commons for examination regarding the supposed benefit which would accrue from the converting of the ruble granite causeways in the chief streets of towns and cities into a smooth surface similar to that already formed by him on the public roads; which resulted in most of the streets of London, Edinburgh, and Dublin being *Macadamised*. It is but natural to expect that in the projecting and carrying into effect of a scheme of such vast dimensions, in addition to the time and labour, a considerable sum of money must have been expended. And such was the case, for, in 1825, he proved to the satisfaction of a Select Committee of the House of Commons that he had advanced several thousand pounds for the effectual completion of his plan, which Committee ordained that £10,000, in two separate grants, should be given him as a sufficient acknowledgement for the service he had

* Imperial Dictionary of Universal Biography.

done the country.* In 1834 he was offered a knighthood, which he respectfully refused on account of his age and increasing infirmities, but the title was conferred upon his son, Sir James Nicoll Macadam, who had materially assisted him as a road engineer. Mr. Macadam died at the advanced age of eighty at Moffat, a place which he particularly loved, on the 26th November, 1836, and an unpretentious headstone marks his resting place in the pretty churchyard.

JOHN FINLAY was born at Glasgow in the year 1782. After leaving the academy of Mr. Hall, then recognised as one of the best in the city, he attended the University, and had a career of unusual brilliance, particularly in the classes of Philosophy, Latin, and Greek, where, for the excellence of his prose compositions and the beauty of his poetical pieces, chiefly written on classical subjects, he merited the honours which were liberally showered upon him: gained the favour of his professors, and was held in the general estimation of his fellow-students. But as a scholar he was not destined alone to shine. He had previously given indications of originality of thought and expression, seldom evinced in parties of such youthful years; and those in the form of a work, since much appreciated and admired, were soon to stand the test of public criticism, and receive the share of approbation which they merited. He was one who could compose at the

* Scottish Nation, vol. vi.

most inopportune moments, amidst the bustle of his classmates, or with ease and calmness during examinations, while those surrounding him were terrified at the Examiners

“Denouncing dire reproach to luckless fools,
Unskill'd to plod in mathematic rules.”

He was not like Young, who could alone compose when every fair streak of day-light was precluded from his sanetum, but anywhere or everywhere he startled his contemporaries with the purity of his imaginings. While living within the walls of our ancient *Alma Mater* (now tenanted by the unscrupulous railway officials, whose din destroys the sanctity of the place), as was wont in those days when the figure of the venerable Zachary Boyd might frequently have been seen strutting down its shaded courts, whose firm and massive walls echoed back his fast-retreating footsteps, or while wandering 'neath the verdant arcades of the once sturdy oaks, which were the beauty and the pride of our College Green, close to the classic Molendinar, which then in its purity wimpled by, John Finlay published, at the early age of nineteen, his “Wallace; or, the Vale of Ellerslie,” which immediately established his reputation as a poet. Similar work proceeded from his pen, and, in 1807, he repaired to London in the hope of obtaining a permanent appointment in one of the public offices, but he was disappointed and left for Glasgow in 1808,* not however

* Blackwood's Edinburgh Magazine, vol. ii., 1817-18.

before he had been recognised as a poet of no mean merit by an English public, chiefly through the periodical literature of the day ; and had given himself up to antiquarian research and inquiry, which was subsequently productive of much good fruit, and rendered himself worthy of being classed with Sir Walter Scott and Robert Jamieson as an antiquarian and writer of romantic and historical poetry in imitation of the ancient. In 1808 he published two volumes of "Historical and Romantic Ballads," containing one or two of his own poems, said by some learned critics of the time to be almost the most successful representations of the life and character of the people in the early period, as given by the poetical chroniclers, such as Wyntoun, Rymer, and others, that have ever been produced. About this period Finlay received an offer from Professor Richardson to the effect that he would advance for a share in a printing business the necessary money, and this Finlay thought first of accepting. But not altogether understanding the *modus operandi* of the business, and fancying there would scarcely be sufficient pecuniary remuneration for the time and labour bestowed in the project, he humbly declined the acceptance of the generous offer of the worthy professor ; and his hopes of gaining an appointment in London having been strengthened and increased from reliable sources, towards the end of 1810 he left Glasgow for the purpose of having a consultation on the subject with friends then resident in England. At Moffat he was seized with what has since been considered

apoplexy. Having no apprehensions of danger, with his customary carelessness regarding himself, he did not acquaint either friend or relative with his state and condition. This unselfish interest to the last he manifested. A little before his death he penned a letter to a dear friend, full of humour and cheerfulness; and, says a writer, "he seems to have slept at last out of life without struggle and without pain." John Finlay was buried in Moffat churchyard—a fact sufficient of itself to hallow the lovely spot independent of its other glorious associations.

WILLIAM MORRISON was born at Moffat in 1796. In 1821, after having devoted himself assiduously to mercantile business, he visited New York, again applied himself to work, and by close attention to his various duties he was, like Macadam, destined to reap the fruits of his industry, which by his unaided efforts he had gained. Having, in 1830, repaired to the East Indies he was universally respected, but in Calcutta particularly so, where, recognising the truth of the saying "honesty is the best policy," he merited the enviable appellation of an "upright merchant," the rarity of such increasing the value of the title. On the 27th September, 1837, he died on board ship while on his homeward voyage, and was buried at sea.* The subject of this sketch is related to Moffat in a twofold aspect; *primo*, the matter of birth; *secundo*, the money

* Black's Guide to Moffat, 1866.

which, by his last will, he left for the erection and endowment of a school in his native town, his primary object being that the children of the less wealthy natives should, at an almost nominal fee, be provided with a complete and suitable English education, his pet idea having been to reduce the ignorance, irreligion, and pauperism in the country.*

JOHN WALKER, who from his eccentricities was denominated by the least reverential of the inhabitants "the mad minister of Moffat," was presented by the curator of the Marquis of Annandale to Moffat parish, (being translated from Glencross), on the 4th March, and on the 15th July, 1762, was duly admitted. In 1764, the General Assembly of the Church placed him in various onerous and responsible positions, which he filled to their entire satisfaction, two of which may here be cited—to make a general survey of the Western Highlands, and report their moral and physical condition, so that the Church, in conjunction with the commissioners of annexed estates, might, if need be, form plans for their improvement; and by the Society for the Propagation of Religious Knowledge, to visit and report the progress of the various schools.† On the 28th February, 1765, he obtained from the University

* The school is situated in the Well Road, and is a plain but tasteful building. The sum left was £2000, and the date of the endowment was 1837. He was a man of literary tastes, and penned several pieces, prose and poetical, and Mr. Morrison Clingan, writer of "Black's Guide," testifies to their excellence.

† Fasti Ecclesiae Scoticanæ.

of Glasgow, his M.D., and on the 22nd March of the same year, the University of Edinburgh conferred on him the title of D.D. In 1779 he received an offer from the latter University, the acceptance of which caused much angry debate and dissension in the Church Courts. He was created Regius Professor of Natural History, and keeper of the Museum of the University. This was first considered by the Presbytery, "who found the said office incompatible with his continuing minister at Moffat." He was translated to Colinton, 7th January, 1783, and died in 1804, upwards of seventy years of age. He was the author of numerous works, chiefly on Natural History, held in their day in considerable repute, and, in 1757, there appeared in the "Philosophical Transactions," an article on Hartfell Spa.*

These are but a few of Moffat's men of distinction. A DICKSON and a WELSH,† from their titles and literary

* It may here be remarked, as having been omitted in the chapter bearing on Hartfell Spa, that this spring was analysed first by one Dr. Horseburgh in 1750. He published the results of his investigation in a paper bearing the title, "Experiments on the Hartfell Spa, with an account of its medical virtues," in the Essays of the Philosophical Society in 1754. *Vide* "Chalmers' Caledonia," vol. iii. p. 56. In addition to his article on Hartfell, Dr. Walker published the following works:—"Institutes of Natural History," "The Economical History of the Hebrides;" and "Essays on Natural History, and Rural Economy." The last two of which were posthumous.

† William Dickson, LL.D., was born in Moffat about 1749. He published a translation of Carnot's "Treatise on the Calculus," and edited a reprint of Garnett's "Observations on the Moffat Waters." He died at London in 1821, and bequeathed a number of valuable scientific works to the public library of his native town. Rev. Dr. Welsh, D.D., was born at Erickstane, near Moffat, 1793. He was the author of a "Life of Dr. Thomas Brown," and several other works, and died in 1845.

attainments; a BOYD,* from his acts of benevolence and truly philanthropic character; and a ROGERSON, as a successful physician, a scientific discoverer in his career, and a celebrated scholar, might worthily claim consideration at our hands, and be cited as proofs of its former glory. How sweet to rehearse the scenes of their early life. Thoughts of their daily actions, the most simple or profound of their lives, stir up the beautiful lines of Shelley—

“ Music, when soft voices die,
Vibrates in the memory;
Odours, when sweet violets sicken,
Live within the sense they quicken.”

* Walter Boyd was born at Moffat between 1750 and 1760. He died about 1842, having been M.P. for Shaftesbury in the first Imperial Parliament, and after having, by diligence, amassed a large fortune.

CHAPTER XII.

Summary of Events from 1848 to 1871.—Building—Hydropathic Establishment.—New Cemetery.—Literature, Amusements, and Public Buildings.—Climate.—Vital Statistics of the Parish—Tabular view of the same.—Sanitary observances.—Moffat created a Burgh in 1864, under the General Police and Improvement Act.—Conclusion.

THE change which has taken place in the external aspects of the town, even within recent years, must be matter of no small surprise to those who, for some years, have kept themselves aloof from the familiar scenes of their childhood. The town, attractive as it is, has not retained much which indicates the rudeness of mediaeval ages, though we fancy there are a few things still existing which could claim their origin from that period, and altogether it bears the plain architectural peculiarities of modern times. The suburbs indicate, however, a more pretentious style, and the sometimes extensive gardens, with their well-assorted plots of flowers which scent the air with a kindly perfume, show plainly the care which is taken to render the environments of the town an object of particular admiration. Free from the restraints and

conventionalities of city life, the inhabitants are ever seen pursuing their daily avocations with earnestness and quietude—a state of affairs which, harmonizing with the seclusiveness of the scene, stirs up the suggestive lines of Coleridge—

“ O ! ’tis a quiet spirit-healing nook !
Which all, methinks, would love, but chiefly he,
The humble man, who in his youthful years .
Knew just so much of folly as had made
His early manhood more securely wise !”

It may appear necessary that a retrospective glance should be cast o’er the path which, in this work, we have pursued. And while noticing its gradual development, from the time when its church and church lands were part of the private patrimony of Bruce, and by him subsequently annexed to the Bishopric of Glasgow ; from the time when its inhabitants were skilled in war, as the turbulent state of the country necessitated, and when their industry and perseverance were evinced in the manufacture of beverages to satiate their appetites ; or when the town was slightly exalted by its erection into a Barony and Regality Burgh, and subsequently released from the partially tyrannical control of a feudal Superior, we cannot but be satisfied with the peaceful picture which it now presents. Former customs and institutions have been rejected and abolished, former principles have by the inhabitants been renounced, and in conformity with the times they zealously attend to their domestic and agricultural duties. Under the paternal superintendence and care

of a prudent and far-seeing proprietor, the lands of Moffat, with many in Annandale, have been efficiently taken care of and cultivated ; and the inhabitants of the surrounding district are to him much indebted for proper systems upon which to work farms, with the same efficiency as formerly, and with greater economical observance. The town, too, has not been neglected, and here and there traces of his benevolence and interest in its prosperity are visible, while the Moffatians readily acknowledge the benefits received from his liberal hand.

Though we are capable of enjoying the contemplation of Moffat in its ameliorated state, we cannot be expected to derive full satisfaction from the prospect, because we are practically unconscious of the change which has transpired in its social, religious, and domestic aspects, in common with other towns of small dimensions, struggling for existence at the same remote period, not having in those primitive times gone abroad to enjoy the freshness of its beauty, the sweetness of its solitude, or having conversed with the associates of "Tam Halliday of Corehead," the compatriots of William Wallace in his fight for national independence, or the zealous adherents of the Scottish Covenant, who dwelt within the precincts of the town, or in some favoured spot of the surrounding country. To such, the change would by no means appear an improvement. These octogenarians would doubtless account with wondrous veracity the doings of their childhood, when the Bruce was a more familiar sight than even some of our modern idols,

who, from the purity of their imaginings, the depths of their scientific discoveries, or the number and variety of their philanthropic executions, are daily worshipped; or the graver duties which in their declining years employed them, when the caprices of youth had vanished, and when, desirous of keeping themselves aloof from the wickedness which everywhere abounds, they repaired to conventicles in secluded glens, where the serenity of the scene caused them to raise their thoughts above Nature and her beauties, and concentrate them upon Nature's God. What an ample illustration of these words—

“Oderunt peccare boni virtutis amore.”

How interesting it would be to hear them narrate in their unostentatious manner their own daring deeds during the many quarrels in which their country was implicated. To receive a vivid and glowing description of the eventful battle of Dryfesands, with its attendant fatalities—the temporary overturn of the ancient house of Nithsdale and the ignominious death of its noble representative—would prove not the least worthy of our attention. Or how they, flushed with enthusiasm, when they beheld the saving and welcome rays which emanated from the fitful beacon planted on the Gallow-hill, which indicated the approach of the usurper, and caused them to doff their daily habit for that which practically signified their allegiance to their king and country. Or how, when the discovery of Moffat Well was universally made known, they indirectly resented

the daily encroachments (?) made upon them by strangers attracted to the locality to share its hidden health-restoring influences. Or how they were impressed with the idea of their own importance when the town was elevated to the position of a Burgh of Regality, partakers in the privileges of the same, and under the direct control of the Baron and his bailies.* To see it now with its public buildings, its large churches, its baths, its commodious hotels, its banking establishments, and educational institutions; its gas and other conveniences peculiar to modern times, would be matter of surprise and pain, not contented pleasure; and in the extremity of their grief they would doubtless exclaim—

“Timeo Danaos et dona ferentes.”

The improvements effected within recent years have been numerous, and may here be briefly enumerated. For many years the impulse gained by the opening of

* The Marquesses of Annandale and their predecessors were constituted Stewarts of Annandale, and Lords of the Regality of Moffat. This jurisdiction of the regality not only included the complete superiority, and almost complete possession of the town, but likewise the lands occupied or held in feu of them by certain parties. Scattered through Annandale this accounts for the terms of description used in sundry charters—“Within the Regality of Moffat and Stewartry (i.e. Sheriffdom) of Annandale.” To what extent the right of regality was with reference to the lands of others holding their rights from Royal Charter is a matter of uncertainty, and with the most careful investigation could scarcely be determined. At first the Regality Courts were held at Moffat by the Baron, but subsequently by the Baron’s Bailie, whose authority was supreme in criminal as well as civil causes. Moffat had its Tolbooth prior to the erection of the Court-house and Lock-up somewhere about 1760: and evidences of the Regality Courts could have been seen there some years since.

the Caledonian Railway in 1848 steadily increased, and the enthusiasm which they manifested in their building projects has been productive of its own good, as the unique and substantial appearance of the town is the object of admiration of its numerous visitors, and the pride of its natives. Hartfell Crescent has an airy and elevated situation facing the south, while its architecture is tasteful and elegant, and the internal conveniences have by the proprietor been particularly considered.* A Company was recently formed for the creation of a Hydropathic Establishment, which will add materially to the attraction of a visit; and several acres of ground have been purchased at a heavy sum for the erection of a suitable Institution, and schemes organised for the practical developement of the plan. It may also be observed that the Parochial Board, with the Rev. Dr. M'Vicar at its head as Chairman, has secured in perpetual feu, from Mr. Hope Johnstone, a lovely and sequestered spot on the banks of the Annan, for the purpose of forming a Cemetery, its chief attraction being its remoteness from the town. This will be a great boon to the inhabitants, as the present burying-ground is already inconveniently filled "with moss-green'd pediments and tombstones gray." And although they must henceforth bury their dead in a more remote but still more lovely spot, they can ever with a saddened pleasure point to the southern extremity of the town, and in the pathetic words of Gray exclaim—

* Beechgrove, an extensive line of houses, has also been formed, carrying on the Academy Road.

“Beneath those rugged elms, the yew-trees’ shade,
Where heaves the turf in many a mould’ring heap,
Each in his narrow cell for ever laid,
The rude forefathers of the hamlet sleep.”

Moffat also possesses a Horticultural Society, whose indefatigable exertions to have an annual exhibition are signally rewarded, and the *élite* of the town during the visiting season favour them with their presence. But this is but one of the many treats which the Moffatians hold out to strangers as an inducement to sojourn for a time in the locality. Concerts are held at stated intervals within the commodious hall in the Bath buildings, which are well patronised and meet with the universal approbation of the visitors, and the committee of management merit praise for the efforts which they make to secure the services of talented *artistes* during the season. Assemblies, lectures, and evening meetings of various types have been instituted, all of which are calculated to while the time pleasantly away, as they offer the privileges of new associations, drawing the visitors closer to each other, and makes the less homely tendency of our Scottish watering places much reduced. And, while endeavouring to originate schemes for the amusement of all, the inhabitants have not forgotten the moral and intellectual power which, in common with all great or small communities, they possess. Since 1622, when the first known English newspaper was published in the form of *News of the Present Week*, the cry for serial literature has increased to such an extent that no small

provincial town is now destitute of its "Weekly," with its "Public Voice," through the medium of which existing evils are assailed, and its leading articles, pregnant with unvarnished sarcasms, by which parliamentary enactments and public measures may receive the approval or disapprobation of the editor and his coadjutors, all of which have a decided tendency to impress their local readers with the idea of the immensity of their achievement, and give an air of importance even to the most humble. Moffat has long since experienced the benefits arising from local newspapers, and various series of the *Moffat Times* have been called into existence and suppressed. The present issue, which may be said to be a better speculation than any of its predecessors, was originated in May, 1861, and is conducted under the superintendence of its proprietor, Mr. Muir. Ample means for the amusement and instruction of the inhabitants is provided in the Public Library, consisting of upwards of 4000 volumes, chiefly the benefactions of eminent natives, and also under his care and management.*

We deem it necessary to consider the suitability of the climate for invalids. It has all along been objected that Moffat is anything but desirable winter quarters, an impression which, though erroneous, has gained

* Moffat possesses three banking establishments and four public educational institutions, three of which have been called into existence through the liberality of wealthy natives, while there are one or two houses of a private character, alike for the education of young ladies and gentlemen, which have hitherto merited and received considerable favour; and all of which are under the care and superintendence of an efficient staff of teachers.

ground, and hence the comparative brevity of the visiting season. Its mountainous surroundings and elevated situation are apt to impress strangers with the idea of the severity of its winters, but from personal experience we can testify to the contrary; and recommend it for the winter residence of all who are desirous of escaping biting east winds or fogs, for which cities are famous, as the prevailing winds of Moffat are southerly and westerly, and it is almost free from the annoyance of fogs. Another advantage is the peculiar construction of the streets, or the material with which they are formed. After a heavy shower of rain, the streets are in such a state as to admit of the most scrupulous invalid taking a walk without deriving the slightest harm. Though we claim for Moffat during the winter months the title "mild," we must confess to a few exceptional cases illustrative of unusual cold. On Tuesday evening, 30th September, 1817, the thermometer at Moffat was as low as 27° , and on the following morning at 23° , exactly nine degrees below freezing point.* But there are exceptions to all rules, and this is one. Dr. M'Vicar, speaking of the temperature, says, "The minimum of this winter [1870-71], indicated by a trustworthy, self-registering thermometer hung on the wall of this house [the Manse], at the height of the eye, protected from the sky and passing influences, by being among the leaves of a cotoneaster nailed to the wall, is nothing lower than 17° Fahr."†

* Blackwood's Edinburgh Magazine, vol. ii., No. 8, 1817-18.

† *Vide* Letter of Rev. Dr. M'Vicar's, in "Scotsman" of date Jan. 3, 1871.

There have been many instances of longevity in the town and parish, which can be accounted for by the healthful recreations and pursuits of the inhabitants, and the efforts which have been made for sanitary reform. The populations have, in a former part of this work, been noticed—that of the parish 2232, of which number 1600 inhabit the town—and the following statistics are given with the view of illustrating the remarkable vitality in Moffat and upper Annandale.* In 1870, the deaths of parishioners out of that population were 34, eight being upwards of seventy years of age, which is much less than the mortality in even less populated towns or rural districts in Scotland, as it is only 15·2 per 1000; while in 1869, the general mortality rate of small towns was 22·2 per 1000. And what proves beyond dispute the benefits accruing from the drinking of the mineral waters, and the invigorating air for which Moffat is famous; is, that out of 5000 strangers who resided in the town during the visiting season, as estimated, four deaths only occurred.† And this is

* The census of 1871 shows a considerable increase in the population of the parish since the last computation. As returned, there are 1155 males, and 1388 females, shewing, since the last census taken ten years ago [1861], an increase of 311, having then been 2232, as already shewn. It is not improbable that the increase is slightly owing to strangers then resident in town or parish, and cannot therefore be said to be the original population.

† *Vide* "Daily Scotsman," January 3, 1871. The strangers one meets at Moffat are of various types. A great many foreigners frequent it, but their stay is not prolonged, as they are all more or less of a roving disposition. It may here be remarked, that the necessity for a Bridge at Beattock Station, for the accommodation and safety of visitors, should be fairly recognised by the Directors of the Caledonian Railway. The danger occasioned from the want of such has already been stated in the "Dumfries Herald" of date April 26, 1871; at the instigation of Miss Hope, Johnstone.

particularly striking when we consider that many who constituted the 5000 were afflicted with some direful malady. The following tabular view of the vital statistics of the parish, prepared by Mr. Gibson, M.C., Edinburgh University, the Local Registrar, and procured through the kindness of Dr. M'Vicar, may more fully illustrate the preceding remarks:—

BIRTHS.						DEATHS.				MAR- RIAGES.
	M.	F.	Total	Illeg.	Illeg. pr. cent	M.	F.	Total	Average age.	
1855	36	22	58	5	8·6	23	27	50	41·3	13
1856*	30	34	64	7	10·9	35	22	57	35·3	13
1857	28	33	61	12	19·7	14	26	40	41·5	19
1858	39	22	61	6	9·8	20	16	36	39·	13
1859	41	33	74	8	10·8	15	26	41	36·8	9
1860	49	26	75	12	16·	32	15	47	33·8	15
1861	35	36	71	7	9·8	16	21	37	42·4	10
1862	26	37	63	7	11·1	19	20	39	42·5	8
1863†	24	32	56	5	8·9	28	37	63	30·	7
1864	29	36	65	7	10·7	20	17	37	40·4	12
1865	34	35	69	11	15·9	19	28	47	38·	21
1866	47	24	71	11	15·4	20	27	47	51·	12
1867	39	32	71	7	9·8	20	16	36	49·9	15
1868	27	28	55	7	12·7	19	29	48	44·5	14
1869	30	28	58	8	13·7	17	20	37	43·7	9
1870‡	39	34	73	4	5·5	16	22	38	50·	11

* Good many deaths from Scarletina.

† Scarlet and Typhus Fever.

‡ 6 died less than one year, the average of the others is 50 years, or the average of the whole 42.

The reader, by perusal of the foregoing statistics, will readily perceive that Moffat has an exceedingly insignificant mortality rate, and with a continuance of the care which is taken to free the town from bad or imperfect sewerage ;* and other sanitary observances, it may in time coming merit the appellation which it has in time past received. There is no known local distemper, and it has even providentially escaped the violent epidemics which have frequently ravaged the country. In the memorable year 1832, when Asiatic Cholera visited it; and when the inhabitants of the Royal Burgh of Dumfries (21 miles distant) were suffering from the pestilence which ruthlessly slew hundreds of them, so much so that the words of Armstrong can best illustrate the direfulness of the malady,

“ In heaps they fell, and oft one bed, they say,
The sickening, dying, and the dead contained,”†

Moffat was spared. And the wonder is increased when we consider that daily communication was made to and from the “ town of the plague,” in the form of parties being conveyed to a purer atmosphere, and yet Moffat remained uncontaminated. Although this may justly be attributed to a special provision of Providence, still we cannot shut our eyes to the palpable fact that the cleanliness of the people, and the care taken by their rulers, rendered the possibility of a similar attack less likely. The cleanliness of the town and inhabitants

* In 1867 every street and lane of the town was properly drained by the institution of a new system of sewerage works.

† Armstrong’s Art of Preserving Health.

of Moffat is nowhere surpassed. But Dumfries was, at the time of which we speak, unfortunately differently situated. The condition of the lower classes had long been sadly deplored, and called for immediate action; the state of their homes was of such a filthy character that a like visitation had been sincerely dreaded; sanitary reform amidst much disease had been unheeded till the reaper Death, with his "sickle keen," had in towns not far distant been vigorously plying his vocation. Then, and not till then, schemes were organised for the practical development of sanitary plans, which had hitherto remained unheeded, and so when the plague entered the town their feeble efforts could not allay the virulence of the disease. Moffat, however, had long recognised the strict necessity for instant and constant action for the relief of the destitute, and the systematic cleansing of the town. A sufficient supply of pure water was always possessed,* and the houses were in such a state as would in all probability ward off the attacks of such an unmerciful foe.

The most fortunate move Moffat ever made was the adoption of the General Police and Improvement Act, which formerly the inhabitants had made strenuous efforts to acquire, as this may be regarded the parent of all subsequent improvements and the cause of the

* In 1867 a new and fresh supply of water was carried into the town from springs in the vicinity of Grantoun House, which necessitated £5000 to be expended. This was a wise speculation, and the supply is large enough for a greater population, there being 288,000 gallons supplied daily.

numerous changes made in the external arrangements of the town, for when efforts were made to obtain a new Cemetery, somewhere about 1856, the Burgh's boundaries had first to be specified, and power procured ere they could move at all.* And after the lapse of eight years their darling object was realized, for in 1864 the town was created a Burgh under this Act, making all the improvements since effected a matter of comparative ease, seeing the power of acting freely had been acquired.

It is with considerable reluctance we tear ourselves from the self-imposed task which has for the past two years employed us. Conscious, however, of the size which it at present assumes, we cannot confidently enter into a more detailed account of the present position and growing importance of the town. Though self-imposed, the task latterly became burdensome when the time was limited for its completion, and this in some measure accounts for the abrupt conclusion which we are bound to make of a somewhat lengthy story. Strangers necessarily ignorant of Moffat's beauty may consider the statements herein made exaggerated, and attribute them to the over-heated imagination of the writer, but to them we particularly recommend a visit, so that experience may prove the falsity of such a supposition. The number of visitors is yearly increasing, and well may we say with Cowper, in support of our former assertion—

* *Vide* Moffat Times of 1857.

“Scenes must be beautiful which daily viewed
Please daily ; and whose novelties survive
Long knowledge and the scrutiny of years—
Praise justly due to such as I describe.”

We affectionately bid our readers farewell, wishing for Moffat a continuance of that prosperity and public favour which hitherto it has received : trusting, too, that the object of the author's heart has been realised—to bring it prominently before the public, and in every respect make his results worthy of the subject handled.

THE END.

APPENDIX.



APPENDIX.

A, page 14.—PARISH CHURCH.—SUCCESSION OF MINISTERS.

From 1567 to 1586, the Parish was supplied as shown in the text, with a reader.

- 1586. Robert Wood.
 - 1601. David Fotheringhame, M.A.
 - 1610. Walter Whitefurde, M.A.
 - 1632. David Wauche, M.A.
 - 1637. George Buchanan, M.A.
 - 16—. Archibald Inglis, M.A.
 - 16—. —————.*
 - 1673. David Johnstone.
 - 168—. George Maitland.
 - 1695. George Milligan, M.A.
 - 1723. Robert Wallace.
 - 1734. James M'Ewan.
 - 1747. Edward Johnstone, M.A.
 - 1762. John Walker, M.A., M.D., D.D., F.R.S.E.
 - 1783. Alexander Brown.
 - 1801. Alexander Johnstone.
 - 1843. Archibald Stewart, D.D.
 - 1849. John Stewart, D.D.
 - 1853. John G. M'Vicar, D.D., LL.D., present minister.
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B, page 34.—DR. ROBERT JOHNSTONE'S SETTLEMENT.

Dr. Johnstone's Will was dated from London, 30th September, 1639 ; and the following is the passage endowing the Moffat

* The name of this minister is unknown, but we learn from Dr. Hew Scott, that he fled for debt, and that the parish was, so to speak, vacant in 1668. *Vide* "Fasti Ecclesiae Scoticanæ."

Grammar School:—"I geve and bequeath unto the Right Honourable Lord Johnstone, One Thousand Poundes sterling, to bee ymployed in purchasing of landes, for the mayntenance of a Grammar Schole in Moffett, in Annandale, and doe appoint out of the same vnto the Mr. yearely, five hundred Marcs, usual money of the Realme of Scotland, unto the Vsher, and Hypodidusculos, twou hundred marcs of like money yearely, an vnto an able man to teach the schollers of the said schole Arithmetic and Writinge one hundred and fitye marks of like money of Scotland, yearlie, and the surplusage of the rent I doe appoint, to be distribted amongst the poore of the parishe of Moffett aforesaid, and towardes the reparacon of the said schole, and my mynde is that the said Mr. Vsher, and Arithmaticians, bee chosen good and sufficient men by the Provest, Baliffes, and Ministers of Edinburgh, and also altered by them upon the informacon of the said Lord Johnestoun, his heyers, and the minister of Moffett, for the tyme being of their insufficiencie and neglect of the instrucion of the youth there, and others to be elected in the place of them that haue been carles and negligent. And my will and mynde is that fitye pounds starlinge be presentlie paide unto the said Lord Johnestoun, towardes the building of the said schole at Moffett, and the foresaid principall some six monthes after my deccase. That the building may be perfected out of the vse of the said sum before the purchasing of the landes for the yeerlie maintenance of the said schole."

C, page 51.—LINE OF DESCENT OF THE JOHNSTONE FAMILY.

The following is the line of descent of the Johnstone family, as represented in a recent lawsuit between John Henry Goodinge Johnstone, pursuer; and John James Hope Johnstone, and Earl of Hopetoun's Trustees, defenders, before the Supreme Courts, for the title formerly possessed by the representatives of the family, and which became dormant in 1792, by the death of George, third Marquis of Annandale, as shown in chapter v., for report of which see "Dunlop and Bell's cases."

JAMES,
Earl of Annandale and Hartfell.
Died 1672.

WILLIAM,
Marquis of Annandale.
Died 1721.

Hon. JOHN JOHNSTONE,
of Stapelton.

JAMES,
Marquis of Annandale.
Died 1730.

GEORGE,
Marquis of Annandale.
Died 1792.

HENRIETTA,
Countess of Hopetoun.
Died 1750.

JOHN JOHNSTONE,
of Ratherlithe.

JOHN,
Earl of Hopetoun.
Died 1781.

THOS. JOHNSTONE,
Died as alleged,
1808.

SARAH JOHNSTONE,
Died 1822.

JAMES,
Earl of Hopetoun.
Died 1816.

JOHN H. G. JOHNSTONE,
(Pursuer.)

Lady ANN HOPE JOHNSTONE.
Died 1818.

JOHN JAMES HOPE JOHNSTONE,
(Defender)

The case was productive of no good, as neither of the claimants had their hopes or expectations realised, which makes us the more regret with Sir Walter Scott, who says:—"Every Scotchman must regret that the name of Johnstone should have disappeared from the peerage; and hope that some of the many claimants for the minor honours of the house of Annandale, may make out a case to the satisfaction of the House of Lords. The great estates of the family are still nearly entire, and in worthy hands; they have passed to a younger branch of the noble house of Hopetoun, one of the claimants of the elder title."—*Vide* Note K. to Scott's "Fair Maid of Perth."

D, page 80.—ANALYSIS OF THE MOFFAT SULPHUREOUS WELL.

The following formerly appeared in 1858 in a work, "Moffat: Its Walks and Wells," and has been procured through the kindness of Messrs. Blackie & Sons, Publishers:—

The Well, *par excellence*, is at the distance of about a mile and a half from the village, and has been generally described as to situation, &c., in the descriptive sketch of the district. We would add our testimony to the efficiency of the means by which the water is carefully collected at the well for the use of the visitors, and the orderly and cleanly manner in which it is distributed (by Mrs. Clark) to those who are in the habit of partaking of it. The walk to the mineral-water supply is particularly pleasant and picturesque, and from the altitude of the site of the well, it being about 640 feet above the sea level, the air, even in the middle of summer, is never experienced as sultry, at the hour at which visitors are accustomed to wend their way upwards to the Spa, but is always, in dry weather, of an agreeable and bracing character.

There are two sources of the water at the well, rising from the rock from which the water issues, and situated at a few feet from each other. These are known to the keeper of the well as the upper and lower springs. The lower one alone is used for drinking purposes. The upper, and to the taste, and specific gravity, the stronger of the two, is allowed to pass by means of

pipes towards the reservoir, which supplies the mineral baths in the village. The waste-water of the lower well is allowed to flow in by the same channel, and adds itself to the contents of the reservoir. From the well-understood action of sulphureous waters on metals, it would be advisable that the metal pipes, at present in use for conveying the water for bath purposes, should be replaced either by pipes made of glass, or, what would be more economical, and quite as efficient in preserving the purity and strength of the water, *gutta-percha*. The tank of the bath committee, which, we believe, is constructed of cast-iron, ought to be lined with an inner sheet case of the same material. By such improvements, the sulphur constituents of the water would suffer no decomposition on transference, but would pass on, and be accumulated in the state in which they exist in the well-water.

On reaching the well, many circumstances strongly indicate the sulphureous nature of the water. The water itself has the characteristic odour of such waters, while the metal stop-cock attached to the pipe which communicates with the rock, and delivers the supply, is coated with a black shining sulphuret, formed by the sulphuretted hydrogen disengaged from the water acting upon the metal. The blackening of the watch-cases, and any silver coins which have been for some time in the possession of the well-keeper, bears testimony to the presence of this gas in considerable abundance in the neighbourhood of the well, as it is evolved from the water when drawn. The small openings in the rock, from which the water of the upper well issues, are alone visible ; those of the lower well being built over with a fixed pipe communicator and stop-cock, to draw off the water at pleasure. The upper and exposed apertures are incrustated with a yellowish-white substance. This, when dried and ignited, yields a blue flame, gives off a suffocating odour of burning sulphur, and leaves a reddish-coloured residue. The composition of this deposited matter was found, on analysis, to be sulphur and peroxide of iron (red oxide). In the exposed part of the channel, through which the water flows from the upper

apertures towards the pipes which supply the public baths, opalescent filaments of sulphur exist in abundance, and also a considerable quantity of a black deposit. This black substance, on examination, proved to be the pure protosulphuret of iron. When heated with hydrochloric acid, it gave off sulphuretted hydrogen gas in abundance. The acid solution obtained in this experiment contained iron wholly in the state of protoxide. This was ascertained by its yielding an abundant blue precipitate, with red prussiate of potash, but none with the yellow prussiate of potash. The protosulphuret of iron is formed by the combination of the sulphur (of the sulphur compounds in the water), with iron which issues in a soluble form from several small fissures in the exposed rock; the protosulphuret of iron so formed, being preserved from the action of the oxygen of the air by the well water which flows over it. The whitish deposit formerly alluded to, is, as originally formed, the same substance viz., protosulphuret of iron, but by being freely exposed in this form to the air, it suffers decomposition; its iron becoming peroxidized, and its sulphur set free. In the iron-conveyance pipes formerly referred to, this formation of protosulphuret of iron also takes place, and constitutes the black matter which is found accumulating in all parts of the piping. As this sulphuret is completely insoluble in water, it is of no medicinal use in the bath, and being produced at the expense of much of the all-important sulphur constituent, its present production is the ground of the recommendation formerly given for the replacement of the iron by gutta-percha pipes.

As to the smell and taste of the water, various opinions exist. Dr. Garnett described it as having a "strong smell resembling bilge-water, or the scourings of a foul gun," and "like the sulphureous water of Harrowgate, though not quite so strong."* The odour is certainly not the most agreeable, but this description of it is rather exaggerated. The rinsings of a gun-barrel do approximate to the odour, but the best analogue, we think, is a *slightly* putrescent egg. The taste is that of a mixed saline

* Garnett on *Moffat Wells*, 1800. P. 14.

and sulphureous character, so that the water is rather unpleasant to most palates on first partaking of it. The coldness of the water, however, and the evolution of minute globules of gaseous matter from it, as well as from the drinking being fashionable, and consequently a great number of active examples set before the eyes of the recipient, also the hearty appreciation of its excellencies expressed by, and the certain hope of expected benefit so forcibly depicted in, the cheerful countenances of the crowd around him, soon reconcile the novice to its, on first acquaintance, somewhat repulsive odour and taste. From our experience of the water, after a week's trial, both taste and odour, as far as unpalatableness was concerned, had ere that time almost disappeared. It is worthy of remark, that persons once accustomed to such a water, prefer it, even for constant use, to all other varieties : pure waters becoming even unpleasant to them. The odour of the Moffat sulphureous, as of similar waters, is very persistent. It is detectable soon after partaking, in the expired air on breathing. It passes off in perspiration, and attaches itself perceptibly to the stockings and clothes of the water-drinkers, and this, apparently, more or less, according to the quantity of water the individual partakes of.

The temperature of the Moffat sulphureous water seems to be quite independent of that of the external atmosphere; and this during all seasons of the year. Dr. Garnett states that in the year 1797 he made two observations at different times on this. In one instance the temperature of the Spa was 50 deg. Fah., while the external air was 54 deg. Fah., and the adjoining brook 48 deg. Fah. On another occasion, when the temperature of the air was 60 deg. Fah, that of the Spa was 49 deg. Fah. Dr. Thomson has not recorded the temperature at the period when his analyses were instituted. Mr. James Clark and the writer made the following observations. The method of determining the temperature was simply to place the bulb and lower end of a thermometer in a tumbler, and to cause the water, as it issued from the pipe communicating with the spring, to run continuously into the vessel, and on the immersed portion of

the thermometer for several minutes, the indication being read off without withdrawing the thermometer from the water :—

Date.	Temp. of the Air.	Temp. of the Well Water.
1852...July, .	76 deg. Fah., in the shade,	49½ deg. Fah.
1853...February,	24 deg. Fah.,	49½ „
„ ...May, .	55 deg. Fah.,	49½ „
„ ...June 22,	74 deg. Fah., in the shade,	49½ „
„ ...Aug. 17,	Not given,	49½ „

From these results, and those of Dr. Garnett, the prevailing temperature of 49½ deg. Fah. may be reasonably considered as having been constant for at least a period of more than half a century. This constancy of the temperature furnishes a strong presumption of there existing very great similarity in the situation and circumstances under which the water becomes impregnated, and has bestowed upon it its characteristic properties. The moderate coldness of the water renders it, as may be conceived, pleasant, at all events refreshing, during the summer months.

The quantity of free gas evolved from the water is at no time great. The water is never decidedly sparkling. It does assume a certain degree of cloudiness from the uniform diffusion through it of very minute gaseous globules. These globules exist more abundantly, and of greater size, on certain occasions than on others. In short, their comparative abundance may be said to prognosticate the state of the weather. Mr. Clark, keeper of the well, uses the water as a weather-glass, and places great confidence in the indications yielded by it. It is reported in the locality that when the atmosphere is highly electrical, as immediately preceding thunder-storms, these globules are more than usually abundant. They are also more abundant, and appear more rapidly, the higher the temperature of the air to which the water is exposed just when taken from the well. A fall of the barometer, indicating a diminution of atmospheric pressure, and usually a precursor of rain, is always accompanied by a greatly increased evolution of gas globules. The altitude of the situation of the well (640 feet above the

sea-level) adds to this sensitiveness of the water to changes in atmospheric pressure. There is a prevalent error in the district as to this aerated condition of the water. When the gas globules are larger and more abundant the water is popularly said to be *highly charged* with its gaseous principle constituent, the sulphuretted hydrogen. The opposite of this is the proper rendering of the phenomenon. The increased abundance of these globules is indicative of the rapid escaping, and consequent loss of the much desired gas. For the same reasons, the carbonic acid gas in a glass of champagne, or of soda-water, is much greater in quantity before the condition of effervescence is established in such liquors by agitation, or by being placed under the receiver of an air-pump, than during the period when the effervescence or escaping of the gas is going on, or after it. The well-water should, therefore, be drunk as rapidly as possible after being put into the hands of the visitor, and not *walked about with*, and thereby shaken and exposed to the air. The *promenade* should follow the drinking of *each tumbler* of water. It is injudicious to attempt to enjoy both simultaneously.

The statements made as to the temperature and pressure of the air affecting the retention of the gas, with other obvious reasons of a dietetic kind, point out the morning as the best period of the day for obtaining the water richest in its gaseous sulphur constituent, and that the water is most valuable for medicinal or therapeutic purposes when the barometer is high. No dry morning should therefore pass without the invalid remembering to be at the Spa. On the other hand, on wet mornings, when the well cannot be conveniently visited, these facts may afford some consolation to the health-seeker, the water being then less charged in reality, although apparently more so.

Under all circumstances, the mineral water must be drunk at the well, in order that the maximum value and effect of its medicinal character may be obtained. This is over and above the obvious physical advantages derived from the bracing

morning walk We were told when residing in the village, on reliable authority, that some visitors, we regret to say of the fair sex, indulged in the highly objectionable practice of partaking of the water in bed. The water was conveyed to such soporific drinkers by a messenger sent to the well for it. From our own experience, we frequently saw water being carried from the well in the direction of the village, no doubt for the use of persons either unable, and so excusable, or unwilling, and so inexcusable, to do themselves the benefit of the prescribed, and, we might say, in most instances, indispensable morning walk. We were further informed, that those persons who unwisely partook of the water in the *horizontal* position consistently also continued their town practice of partaking of breakfast in the same situation and circumstances, judiciously, however, allowing an interval of about two hours to elapse between the water-drinking and the breakfasting, and afterwards rose when the sun was nearly in the meridian. We do sincerely hope and believe that such cases are in the most marked manner exceptional, since so exalted an instance of, we had almost said stupidity, and so gross a violation of even a common-sense view of the necessary condition of healthful existence cannot, for the sake of the individuals themselves, and for the reputation of the habits of the village, be sufficiently discountenanced and condemned. These remarks have no reference to those who are enfeebled from ill health, and cannot undertake the walk, perhaps not even the well-omnibus drive, but apply to, we trust, the very few, who, while quite able to do so, still from indolence remain at home, and drink their potations there. Much of our urban usage must be left in the city if we would recruit health in rural Moffat, or reap advantage from its mineral-waters.

The specific gravity of the sulphureous water of the well, as indicated by the use of a superior hydrometer, was fully 1.001. By the use of a 500-grain sp. gr. bottle, the specific gravity of the water was found to be .00124, and in another trial with a 1000-grain sp. gr. bottle, 1.00122. The mean specific gravity

of the two last and most delicate experiments, would therefore indicate 1·00123 as the specific gravity of this water. Due observance was made of temperature and atmospheric pressure in these experiments. The specific gravity of the water of the upper well, which is totally employed for bath purposes, was slightly above that stated.

The qualitative chemical analysis of the water was conducted at the well, by means of suitable apparatus and re-agents.

The ingredients found present in the sulphureous water were sulphur, in the form of sulphuretted hydrogen gas, and also as a sulphuret (most probably of sodium), also, chlorine, lime, magnesia; and, subsequently, there were found in the quantitative analysis, soda, traces of earthy carbonates, organic matter, and silicic acid. The substances judged absent, or not present in detectable quantity, were sulphuric acid, potash, iron in any of its states of combination, carbonic acid gas, and nitrogen or any other permanent gas. Excepting the traces of lime and magnesia existing as carbonates, and the soda present in the water in the form of silicate of soda, the lime, magnesia, and soda were found to exist as calcium, magnesium, and sodium, in combination with chlorine, and a small proportion of, most probably, the sodium with sulphur.

It may be remarked that, while testing the well water, most of the tests were applied to the water of the adjoining burn, and also to that of the spring situated on the edge of the foot-path, between the stream and esplanade, and leading to the verandah at the well. The burn-water indicated, in the unconcentrated form, only traces of chlorine. Chemically, it is a very soft and pure water, but is coloured considerably from dissolved organic matters derived from moss. The water from the spring indicated traces of chlorine, slight traces of sulphuric acid, and very slight traces of lime. It is a very excellent and safe drinking water; and, as a spring-water, it is unusually soft. Neither the burn nor spring-water contained the slightest trace of sulphureous impregnation.

By a series of experiments the respective quantities of the

soluble salts, earthy carbonates, and of siliceous and organic matters, composing 50 grains of the solid residue on the evaporation of the sulphureous water, were determined; and the results, when calculated to represent their proportionate amounts in the quantity of residue from the imperial gallon, were as follow:—

Salts soluble in water,	82.27 grains.
Matter insoluble in water:—	
Soluble in acid (earthy carbonates),	2.26 ,,
Organic matter,	2.27 ,,
Siliceous matter,	2.06 ,,
	<hr/> 6.59 ,,
Total residue in one imperial gallon,	88.86 ,,

The combined silicic acid exists in the original water as silicate of soda. The 2.06 grains of silicic acid unite with 1.40 grains of soda, and are thus equivalent to 3.46 grains of silicate of soda.

The 2.26 grains of earthy carbonates were found to be:—

Carbonate of lime,	1.31 grains.
Carbonate of magnesia,87 ,,
Loss on analysis,08 ,,
	<hr/> 2.26 ,,

The amount of chloride of sodium (common salt) thus indicated was 60.72 grains per imperial gallon.

The most important determination in the inquiry was the quantity of sulphuretted hydrogen gas present in the Moffat sulphureous water. The best known processes were instituted to determine this, and the results of five different experiments obtained. The *mean* of all the experiments was .678 grain of sulphur, equal to .720 grain by weight, and 1.982 cubic inches by volume of sulphuretted hydrogen gas.

A portion of the well-water, after being heated to ebullition, was found still to contain sulphur in solution, indicative of the presence of soluble saline sulphurets in the original water. This showed that the sulphur does not all exist as sulphuretted hydrogen in this water, as has been generally supposed, and represented in previous analyses. It also accounted for the

slightly alkaline reaction of the aqueous solution of the residual matter left on the evaporation of the original water. The total sulphur in the original water was found to be, per gallon, $\cdot 742$ grain, from which, if we take $\cdot 622$ grain for combined sulphur, we shall have left, as sulphur existing in the form of sulphuretted hydrogen gas, $\cdot 120$ grain, which is equivalent to $\cdot 128$ grain by weight, and $\cdot 353$ cubic inch by volume of this gas. *From this it will appear, that about one-sixth only of the sulphur in the well-water exists as a gaseous compound, the other five-sixths existing as an alkaline sulphuret.* The former is alone expelled or decomposed by heat. The latter remains in solution even after the water has been in a state of ebullition.

From the foregoing results, one imperial gallon of the Moffat sulphureous water contains, in the form of salts soluble in water, after the evaporation of the original water to dryness, the following ingredients, in the proportions stated; the portion of the residue found thus soluble, being, as before recorded, $82\cdot 27$ grains:—

	Grains.
Chlorine,	48·55
Magnesium,	1·91
Sodium,	24·76
Sulphur,	·62
Calcium,	3·66
Soda, with silicic acid,	1·40
Deficiency during analysis,	1·37
	<hr/>
	82·27
Add to this the silicic acid in solution as silicate in the original water,	2·06
	<hr/>
	84·33

The bases of the saline compounds, formed by the combination of the above constituents, must exist as chlorides, since no other radical or acid is present to unite with them; excepting the sodium existing as the partner in the soluble alkaline sulphur salt, and the soda, which is most probably the base, united with the silicic acid, existing as silicate. The states of combination in which the ingredients exist in the original water are thus represented on calculation:—

Sulphuret of Sodium—	Grains.
Sulphur,	·62
Sodium,	·89— 1·51
Chloride of Sodium—	
Chlorine,	36·85
Sodium,	23·87—60·72
Chloride of Magnesium—	
Chlorine,	5·34
Magnesium,	1·91— 7·25
Chloride of Calcium—	
Chlorine,	6·36
Calcium,	3·66—10·02
Silicate of Soda—	
Silicic Acid,	2·06
Soda,	1·40—3·46
Deficiency, principally referable to hygro- metric moisture,	1·37
	<hr/> 84·33

The combined quantitative results of the whole examination of this water are, therefore, as determined in June, as follow:—

CHEMICAL ANALYSIS, ETC., OF THE MOFFAT SULPHUREOUS WATER.

In the imperial gallon of 70·000 grains.

Specific gravity, 1·000123

Constant temperature, 49·5 deg. Fah.

Free sulphuretted hydrogen gas, 353 cubic inch.

Free and combined sulphur, equal in sul-
phuretted hydrogen gas to 2·168 cubic inches.

	Grains.
Sulphuret of Sodium,	1·51
Chloride of Sodium,	60·72
Chloride of Magnesium,	7·25
Chloride of Calcium,	10·02
Silicate of Soda,	3·49
Carbonate of Lime,	1·31
Carbonate of Magnesia,	·87
Organic Matter,	2·27

Deficiency in analysis of soluble salts, referable
 principally to moisture from the hygrome-
 tric character of the residue obtained on
 evaporation of the water,

1·37

Loss during analysis of the earthly carbonates, 08—1·45

Free Silicic Acid, Traces.

Total solid residue, 88·86

The marked predominance of chlorides in the Moffat sulphur-

eous water will, no doubt, simplify the problem as to its therapeutic properties in the view of the medical man. Its composition in this respect is very similar to the waters of the same class at Aix-la-Chapelle and Harrowgate. The proportion of sulphur present, equivalent to 2·168 cubic inches of sulphuretted hydrogen gas, indicates that the Moffat water is not one of the strongest of sulphureous waters. The Harrowgate water in England (the old well) contains a much higher quantity of this gas in proportion to the other constituents. Enghien, in France, is more like Moffat in this particular. The state of dilution in which the sulphur compounds exist in the Moffat water, should place its internal use completely under the safe control of the invalid.

The peculiarity, now for the first time recorded, that five-sixths of the sulphur in the Moffat water exists in the form of an alkaline sulphuret, and remains in solution after boiling, is most advantageous and important. The first advantage resulting from this, is in the external use of the water. The alkaline sulphuret is analogous in its action on obstinate cutaneous or skin diseases, as lepra and scabies, to the sulphuretted hydrogen gas; but it is not, like that compound, dissipated or decomposed on the application of heat to the water. Warm baths of the Moffat water may, therefore, be indulged in, without more than a very partial loss of its sulphureous impregnation. This anticipation was confirmed by experiment. The temperature at which the water is so employed is generally 98 deg. Fah. There are occasionally exceptional cases, but these are few in number. On submitting a measured quantity of the water to this temperature for a space of time equal to the customary bathing period, and then estimating, by a process previously detailed, the sulphur remaining in solution, *less than one-sixth* of this constituent had disappeared, showing, that besides the whole of the combined sulphur, that even traces of the gas remained. In heating the water for *bath purposes*, contact with metal should be avoided, and wooden bathing vessels should be used. Another most important advantage arising from the presence of the fixed

alkaline sulphuret, bears on the transmission of water to invalids residing at a distance from the well. It is sent to such in Glasgow, Edinburgh, Carlisle, &c. The former has as yet been the principal emporium for it. Were the sulphur in the water existing solely as sulphuretted hydrogen, this gas would soon be dissipated, and the water, as regards this ingredient, rendered valueless. The agitation consequent on transference would aid this. The fixed state of the combined sulphur, however, prevents its escape, so that although part or all of the gaseous sulphuret should be lost, the water cannot be said to have lost more than one-sixth of its leading therapeutic ingredient. *The full medicinal advantage is, of course, only obtained by those who visit the well*; but the fact now stated is interesting and consolatory to those, however distant, who cannot, from circumstances, have this privilege. The retention of even portions of the gaseous sulphuret is insured for short distances, especially with railway communication, by careful sealing of the jars in which the water is transmitted.

It is not advisable that the water should be drank after being kept for any great length of time. The changes in a jar of the water during three months were carefully observed by the author in his laboratory. The vessel was not tightly corked. The water became slightly opalescent, and of a peculiarly offensive odour. After two months this disagreeable odour passed off, and a decided vinegar odour was exhaled, with effervescence on agitation, like that from a very sour fermented liquor; the water at same time being highly acid to test-papers. In three months this had disappeared; the water was odourless, and on the application of the usual tests, not a trace of sulphur in any form, either as sulphuric acid, hyposulphurous acid, sulphuretted hydrogen, or as an alkaline sulphuret, was detectable. These remarks point out to the bath committee in the village, as well as to others collecting similar water for bathing purposes, the necessity of not permitting such waters to remain exposed to the air for months in tanks, although this may be found very convenient for accumulation.

Many opinions have been entertained as to the origin of the sulphureous impregnation of the Moffat well-water. Dr. Garnett considered it as most probably derived from a bog in the vicinity. This supposed source has now disappeared, and yet the impregnation continues. Portions of rock from the strata immediately adjoining the well, on being examined chemically, were found to contain sulphur in considerable quantity, in the form of iron *pyrites* or bisulphuret of iron. The rock from which the spring has its issue was found not to be free from this ingredient. This sulphur compound is present in such quantity in some masses of the slaty rock, as exposed in the bed of the stream above the site of the well, as to render the crystals of it distinctly visible to the unassisted eye, and even layers of it, from one-eighth to one-half of an inch in thickness, traverse these rocks. This sulphuret may indeed be said to be a prevailing constituent of most of the minerals of the district, and appears to be the prime source of the sulphureous impregnation in the mineral water. The situation of the well, lying as it does at the foot of an extensive series of hills, characterized here and there by the presence of the metallic sulphuret named, seems to place this beyond doubt. The constituents of some mineral waters, as chloride of sodium, carbonate of lime, &c., may be referred to lixivation and solution merely, the rain-water dissolving such already formed constituents during its percolation through the mineral matter which contains them. Other ingredients, however, are the result of chemical decomposition, as well as subsequent solution. Sulphuretted hydrogen gas and alkaline sulphurets belong to this latter variety. They are produced by the action of water on some metallic sulphuret, and most usually that very sulphuret which is so abundant in the vicinity of the Moffat well. The presence of organic matter favours, if it is not indispensable to this formation. The oxygen of the water combines with the metal of the metallic sulphuret, while its hydrogen unites with the sulphur, forming sulphuretted hydrogen. The conditions for this chemical action all exist in the case of the well water. The source of

the alkaline sulphuret in the water is most probably different. This constituent is most likely referable to the action of the organic matter, which is present in considerable proportion in the water, and is of vegetable origin, excepting a few animalcules, on alkaline sulphates. The oxygen of the sulphate, say sulphate of soda, is removed by the carbon of the decomposing organic matter, and sulphuret of sodium results. It may be stated, in objection to this view, that the Moffat water contains no such sulphates. This is certainly true of the water as it now issues at the spring. Dr. Thomson records the presence of such constituents in great quantity at the period when his analysis was conducted.

In June, 1854, I visited the Sulphureous Well, and conducted a further experiment, so as to indicate any change since last season in the sulphureous impregnation of the water. The arsenical solution was used. In this result, 325 cubic inches of the water were employed. There existed 1.65 grains of the tersulphuret of arsenic. This amount, on calculation, coincides in an exceedingly near, and to me gratifying manner, with the results of the similar experiment conducted in August last, which yielded 1.46 grains of the arsenical sulphuret, from 300 cubic inches of the sulphureous water. This recent experiment would indicate constancy in the amount of the sulphureous impregnation in this water from August last till now, and in this view the result possesses great interest.*

* This analysis of Dr. Macadam's was effected in 1854.

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